

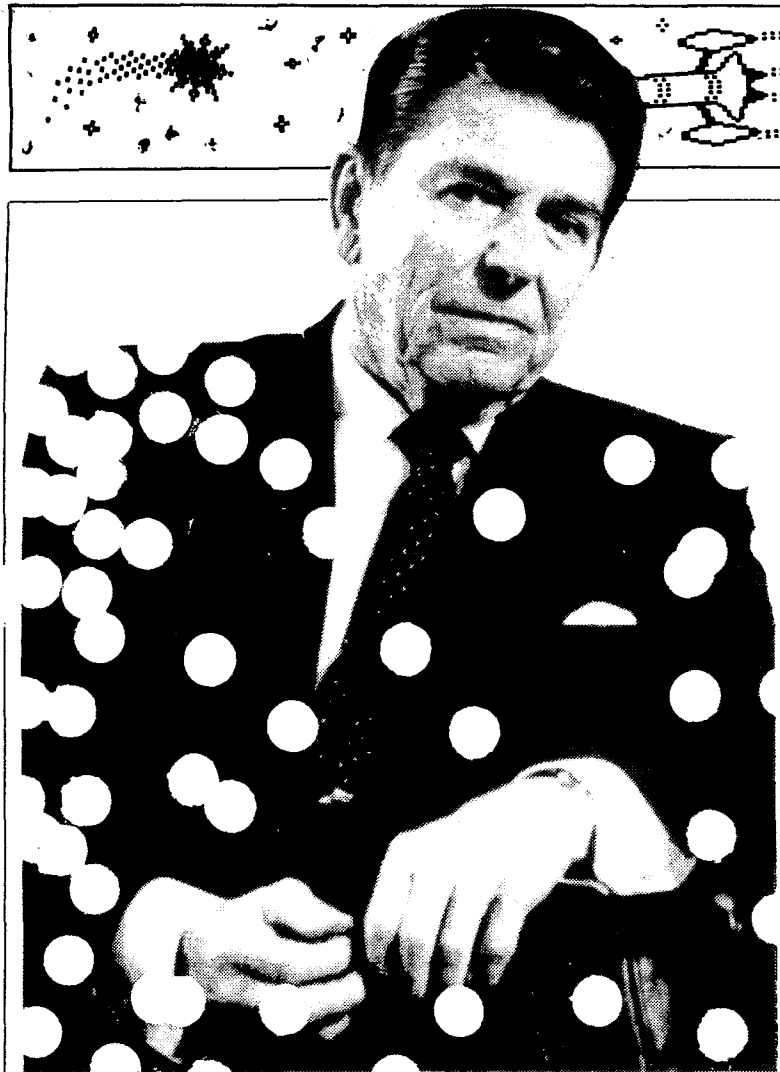
SPECIAL ISSUE

# STAR WARS

★★★★ REALITIES BEHIND THE MYTHS ★★★★★

Scientific objectors	2
False security	3
The French connection	5
Sky lemon	6
Southern discomfort	7





Der Spiegel/In These Times Graphic

# Scientists say no to Star Wars

By David Moberg

In April physicists at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana were surprised to find in the weekly departmental notice a lengthy and unusually florid announcement trumpeting the opportunities of research money through the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), or Star Wars. It seemed like an endorsement. "A number of us were just incensed," recalled Professor Ulrich Kruse, a specialist in high-energy physics. When the department business manager refused to retract or apologize for the Star Wars blurb, they began organizing a petition declaring that SDI is "ill-conceived and dangerous" and that they would neither "solicit nor accept SDI funds." Soon nearly three-fourths of the physics faculty had signed.

About the same time physicists at Cornell University began circulating a similar statement. The movement grew steadily over the summer, then took off rapidly when the university year commenced this fall. By now, more than 55 percent of the physics faculty at the top 14 physics departments in the country (as reflected in a Chronicle of Higher Education survey) and majorities—often three-fourths or more—of 33 physics or related science departments at major universities have signed the petition.

Although the vast majority of Star Wars research was always planned for the national weapons laboratories and major defense contractors, these universities include some of the best and most prestigious scientists in the country. Their ideas would have been valuable for the technical needs of Star Wars. Perhaps even more important, Reagan administration officials considered their participation critical in winning public and congressional approval by giving the impression that Star Wars is a scientifically sound enterprise. These scientists—drawn from a broad political spectrum—are now resoundingly saying that it is not.

"We object to this particularly huge research program that is being sold falsely to the American people," Kruse said. "It cannot do what its loud advertisements call for, and if it does what it is quietly advertised to do, it will be pernicious." That is, there are fundamental flaws that will make it impossible for the system to guarantee protection and defense for the civilian population against a nuclear missile attack. If it offers partial defense, say for a portion of the offensive nuclear arsenal, then it will reduce U.S. security and increase the possibility of nuclear war by destabilizing U.S.-Soviet relations.

Physicists in this spontaneous campaign against Star Wars object to it for several other reasons. They believe it will drain money and talent away from more important work, harming and distorting basic research in physics. Indirectly it will rob money from important research in other fields, such as health (the administration has argued there isn't enough money for massive AIDS research, for example). Ultimately, the program would weaken the U.S. economy as Europeans, Japanese and others gain a technological lead in commercial fields. They think it will produce few "spin-offs" of more practical benefits, and certainly will yield fewer results and less immediately than direct support for such research, whether it's medical use of lasers or construction of supercomputers.

They are convinced that it will undermine arms control negotiations and mislead the American public to think there is a technological rather than political solution to the threat of nuclear war. And many worry that it will lead to more university research being classified, threatening the free exchange of ideas.

Although the movement so far has been limited mainly to physicists on the faculty of major universities making their individual pledges not to participate, the organizers are trying to recruit support from

allied scientists, especially in computers, chemistry and engineering fields linked to Star Wars. Most are not pressing for their universities to commit themselves not to participate, but there are signs—such as a vote by the faculty at Tufts—that such efforts may begin. Unlike other campus-based protests, this has started with faculty in the physical sciences, not social science and humanities students. But their authoritative, carefully reasoned and ominous warnings may trigger wider university action against Star Wars and boost the otherwise frustrated campaign against nuclear arms.

SDI "is a fraudulent initiative that's never been put to scientific scrutiny," argues Professor John Kogut, a theoretical physicist and one of the initiators of the University of Illinois statement. "It is a politically and strategically disastrous idea."

John Bardeen, who won two Nobel prizes for developing the transistor and the theory of superconductivity, was on the White House Science Council in 1983 when Reagan made his Star Wars speech. A signer of the pledge, Bardeen wrote that "President Reagan prepared his speech with no prior consultation with technical experts in the Pentagon concerned with research in the area or with his own science advisor."

One expert on the SDI computing panel resigned after the first meeting. David L. Parnas, a distinguished professor of computer science at the University of Victoria in Canada who has worked for the U.S. Navy for a decade on battle management programming, concluded that the Star Wars plan could not be reliable, and "most of the money spent will be wasted."

Software systems are intrinsically relatively unreliable: they are based on discontinuous systems, not the continuous systems of most engineering that can be described by continuous mathematical functions, he wrote, explaining his skepticism. With small discontinuous systems, exhaustive testing can eliminate most surprises, but with larger systems—such as most computer software—it becomes extraordinarily difficult and "bugs" will always show up.

Beyond that, this massive undertaking can never adequately anticipate all the characteristics of the attacking weapons and must run right under stressful conditions in a short time without any opportunity to test it in advance. It is estimated that the Star Wars system would require at least 10 million instructions, compared to the 88,000 instructions for a space shuttle launch, where computer programming problems continue to occur under less critical conditions.

"I am not a modest man," Parnas concluded. "I believe that I have as sound and broad an understanding of the problems of software engineering as anyone that I know. If you gave me the job of building the system, and all the resources that I wanted, I could not do it. And I don't expect the next 20 years of research to change that fact."

"I've done enough work on big projects," Kruse said, "and our experience with all that computer coding I've done is, 'Look, they simply don't work the first time.' This [Star Wars] has to work the first time. My equipment is in nice air-conditioned buildings with no bombs going off overhead. This has to work under extremely hostile conditions."

But many realize that the promise of a giant Gardol shield against missiles is simply a sales device for a different system. "It's very dangerous," Kogut argued. "Everyone would like to feel secure. I see that the White House will put together an ad campaign to play on people's fears of nuclear weapons. But it's a project with no possibility of protecting the population in the near future. The only use for a system of this type would be in conjunction with offensive weapons. The Soviets would see it as establishing a first-strike capability," especially since much of its technology would include weapons to disrupt Soviet command, control and communications. Also, even a modest Star Wars defense could diminish the retaliatory damage a country could inflict after it had already been attacked in a first strike.

Some argue that at least there will be spin-offs, but SDI research director James Ionson has said the \$30 billion planned for the next five years will be "mission-oriented" with no "luxury to go off and sit in an ivory tower and do wonderful good science." (Ionson, reacting to the growing rejection of Star Wars by leading physicists, said recently he was not worried: two second-rate scientists are as good as a first-rate one.)

Yet the technology will be on a scale that has little commercial counterpart, Kruse argued. Besides, few weapons systems do yield side benefits. The Sgt. York gun was killed after spending \$1.8 billion on a worthless project. "I assure you, not one piece of useful spinoff came from it," said Kogut, who was certain he could have gotten \$2 million a year from Star Wars for his research on desktop computers instead of his current more modest sums. Once projects start, he said, it is hard to kill them even if they don't work: witness the millions spent over many years on the chimera of a nuclear airplane.

"If you put a lot of dollars into a project, you can't turn it off," he added. Someone will always be willing to take the Pentagon's money. "One of my best undergraduates got a job in Star Wars research," Kruse lamented. "He got an offer from McDonnell Douglas—money talks." Yet the result, he said, is "those people will not be working for General Motors to make diesel engines so we don't have to import from Nissan." Transistor inventor Bardeen reflected that the aerospace industry expanded in the '60s, soaking up money and talent, "leaving Japan to establish a lead in the civilian electronics market and in other areas." With Star Wars, the error may be disastrously compounded.

Ironically, if the project succeeds, it will add a new danger, Kogut said, moving us even more into a world of science fiction crossed with gothic horror. "I don't think President Reagan realizes it, but the computer system would have to take over national defense," Kogut said. "A person could not intervene. That takes the president out of decision-making. That's very frightening. Reagan said SDI would make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete. In fact, it makes him obsolete."

## IN THESE TIMES

### IN THESE TIMES

The Independent  
Socialist Newspaper

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors

JOHN B. JUDIS

(on leave)

DAVID MOBERG

Managing Editor/

Acting Books Editor

SHERYL LARSON

Features Editor/Staff Writer

SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

JOAN WALSH

In Short Editor

BETH MASCHINOT

Editorial Assistant

SHERYL OLSEN

Editorial Intern

BILL HALL

BILL KRANS DORF

(California Bureau)

Correspondents

WILLIAM GASPERINI, Nicaragua

TIMOTHY LANGE, Denver

DAVID CORN, New York

Art Director

MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director

NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director

PETER J. HANNAN

Camera Operator

PAUL D. COMSTOCK

Typesetter

JIM RINNERT

Publisher

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Business Systems

ALFRED DALE

Circulation Director Advertising Director

LEENIE FOLSOM CYNTHIA DIAZ

Assistant Circulation Director

ADELIA PRICE

Office Manager/Receptionist

HANIA RICHMOND

Business/Development Assistant

LOUIS HIRSCH

Circulation Assistants

GEORGE GORHAM DONNA JOHNSON

DANIEL C. STICCO

Advertising Assistant

BRUCE EMBREY

Fulfillment Assistant

PAUL BATITSAS

Office Assistant

JOHN MAZZAMURRO

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky,

Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G.

Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara

Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson,

Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy

Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs

(1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer,

Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd,

Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques

Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979),

David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey

O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald

Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William

Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren

Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson,

Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams,

John Womack, Jr.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1985 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$29.50 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$35 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 10, No. 1) published Oct. 30, 1985, for newsstand sales Nov. 6-12, 1985.





By John Pike

## STAR WARS

# 'Strategic Defense' will end hope of nuclear arms control

**T**HE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (SDI), popularly known as Star Wars, is the most dangerous weapons system of the nuclear age. If the U.S. continues with the program, it will lead to a massive escalation of the offensive arms race, increase the risk of nuclear war and make any negotiated arms control impossible. President Reagan's vision of a magic shield protecting the American people is an illusion, and while he promises that Star Wars will be a non-nuclear defense, in reality the program is highly reliant on new types of nuclear weapons.

Yet public opposition to Star Wars has not been equal to the challenges we face. There are at least two reasons for this inadequate response.

First, many people are bewildered by the program's technical complexity. Although there is an important technical component to Star Wars, technical arguments should not be allowed to obscure Star Wars' much more important political issues. They are simple, straightforward and are the main problem with the president's program.

The second problem facing those who oppose Star Wars is the perceived absence of a clear local focus. And a local focus is an important aid to mobilizing community concern over an issue. The protest against the Sentinel/Safeguard anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system centered on localities where the system was to be deployed, while the campaign against nuclear power depended on actions focused on local nuclear power plants. The anti-draft movement conducted public actions at draft registration facilities, while local opposition to the MX in Western states was an important factor in the program's curtailment.

Since SDI is a research program, the issue of deployment won't arise for at least a decade. And the fact that much of SDI will be deployed in space is surely one of its attractive features to the Pentagon, which has been repeatedly frustrated by local resistance to weapons programs. Star Wars systems are being developed by hundreds of companies across the country, however, and these could provide a useful focus for local public education efforts.

## The grand illusion

The vision that President Reagan presented as the basis for SDI is a world in which nuclear weapons are "impotent and obsolete." This is generally taken to mean that SDI would lead to perfect defense of populations. Certainly, the exuberant rhetoric that has been used in support of the program would be difficult to sustain if less exalted goals, such as defense of retaliatory forces, were being pursued.

Technical skepticism concerning Reagan's vision of a perfect defense revolves around the following issues:

- At the device level, the U.S. is very far from being able to build the types of gadgets that would be needed for such a defense.
- At the system level, even if such devices could be built, it is doubtful that they could be united into a system that would protect the population.
- At the strategic level, given the above limitations, it is difficult to identify the political or military utility of the resulting system. Questions abound about SDI's impact on the arms race, its contribution to increasing the risk of war in a time of crisis, its impact on arms control and the ABM Treaty, its financial costs and the fact that it uses nuclear weapons.

At the device level, an effective anti-missile system would require significant increases in the levels of performance of a variety of technologies. Although there are major technical hurdles that SDI must overcome in improving ABM component performance, they are not the most crucial issues facing the program. Given sufficient time

and money—both of which will probably be required in greater quantities than currently estimated—device performance will probably approach that required by SDI.

The most critical issues facing SDI are at the system and strategic levels, where the overall system cost and effectiveness in the face of a responsive threat as well as the military and political utility of the resulting system are entirely unclear. These issues are only indirectly related to the particularities of component performance. Even if the SDI program meets its projected component performance goals, it may not achieve meaningful military or political ends.

SDI technical debate has largely focused on the number of space-based lasers that would be required for the boost-phase layer of a defense. Unfortunately, this debate is in danger of degenerating into a dispute over how many lasers can dance on the head of a pin. Conclusions, not assumptions, are at the heart of the dispute. There is no unique "correct" number of laser battle-stations needed as the first line of defense. Given a plausible range of assumptions, any number between 50 and 5,000 can be derived.

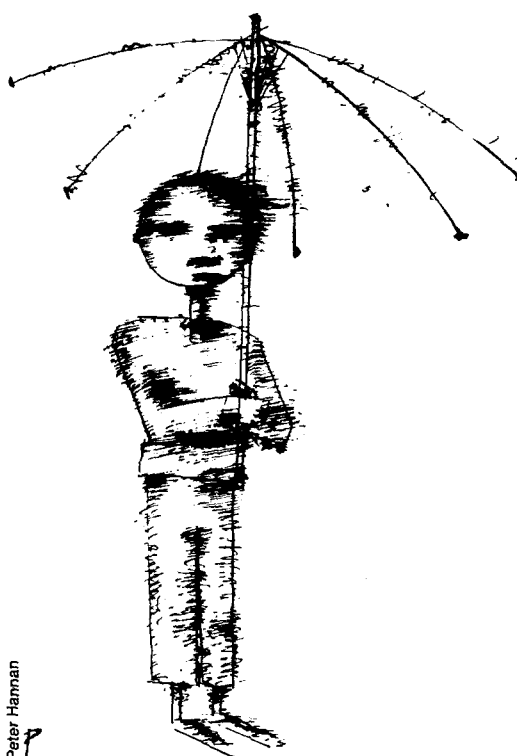
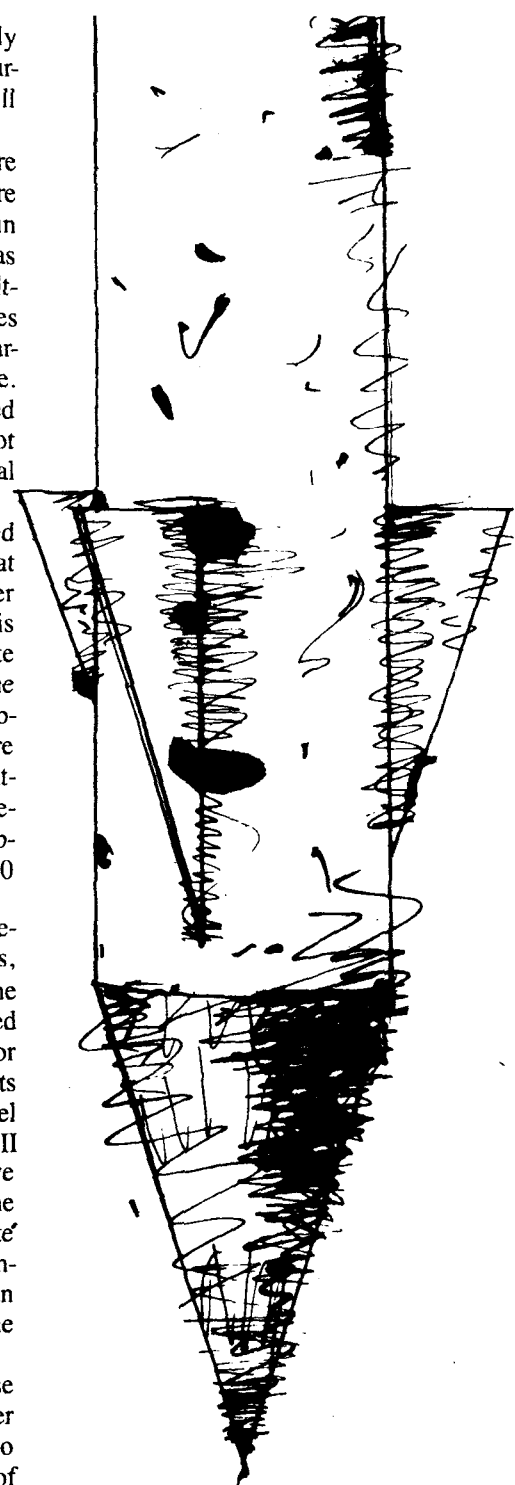
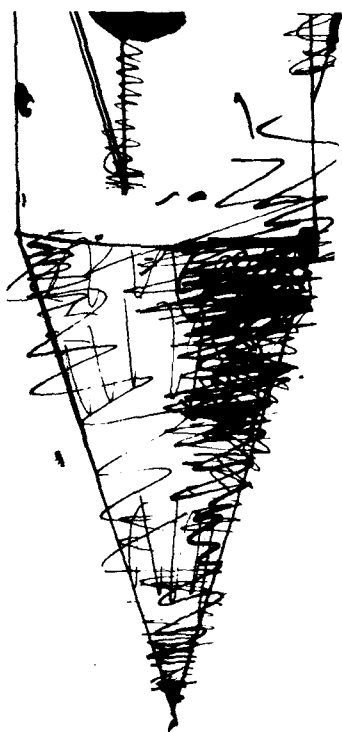
The number of boost-phase weapons required is a function of, among other things, the time available for interception and the vulnerability of the missiles to directed energy weapons. One attractive option for the offense is to reduce the duration of its missiles' boost phase. Current liquid-fuel missiles such as the SS-18 or the Titan II have a boost phase that lasts about five minutes. Solid fuel missiles such as the SS-24 or the MX have about a three-minute boost phase. And some studies have concluded that high-acceleration ICBMs can be built with a boost phase of about one minute.

Halving the length of the boost phase would double the number of lasers or other weapons that the defense would need to deploy. Further reductions in the length of the boost phase are possible, using so-called fast-burn boosters. These missiles achieve the velocity needed for intercontinental ranges while at very low altitudes, too low for most space-based weapons to be effective. Such fast-burn boosters require special high acceleration solid rocket motors and special coatings to protect against atmospheric friction. But the technology required to build fast-burn boosters is similar to that required for ground-based ABM interceptor rockets, and both the U.S. and the Soviet Union could build such boosters by century's end.

Additional countermeasures to directed energy weapons include hardening or armoring the booster's surface. Spinning the booster would have the effect of spreading the energy of a laser beam over a wider area, further reducing its effectiveness. Other countermeasures to lasers include discharging a stream of coolant onto the missile's surface while it is in the atmosphere, and dispensing a fog of aerosols to surround the missile when it is above the atmosphere, diffusing the directed energy beams.

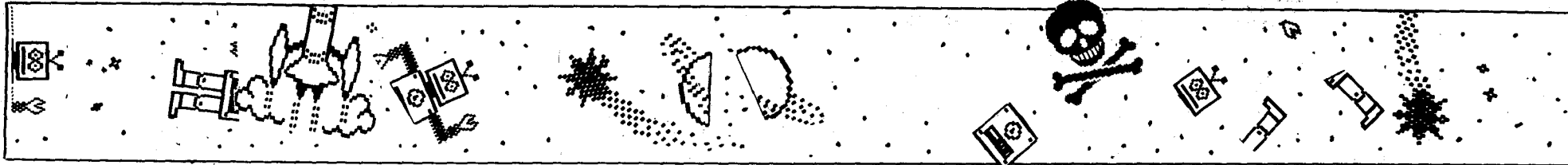
There are also a variety of countermeasures to defense sensors during the mid-course. One of the most effective is a balloon decoy—similar to a weather balloon—that would look like a warhead, increasing the number of targets that the defense would have to cope with. An attack of 30,000

*Continued on following page*



Peter Hamman





*Continued from preceding page*

warheads might be accompanied by 250,000-500,000 balloon decoys. If warheads are hidden inside balloons, the defense's job becomes even more difficult.

The variety of countermeasures available to the offense leads to the conclusion that although the Star Wars defense might be highly effective, it will not provide a perfect defense.

### Flirting with Armageddon

If both sides were to deploy a Star Wars defense, it would significantly increase the risk of nuclear war. The type of leaky umbrella that SDI would provide would be more effective against a retaliatory drizzle than a torrential first strike.

However effective an anti-missile system would be against a massive surprise attack that was carefully timed and coordinated, including direct attacks on the defense itself, it would be much less effective against a smaller and badly coordinated retaliatory strike. With both the U.S. and USSR developing counterforce weapons to threaten the other's land-based missiles, an anti-missile system would be the key to a first strike that could completely negate the other side's retaliation.

This would provide incentive to strike first. In a time of intense crisis, both sides would be concerned about the other's temptation to pre-empt, and both could try to beat the other to the draw. Rather than preventing a war, the defense could ultimately provoke a war.

In addition, "defensive" weapons could be used for offensive missions. It is highly unlikely that space-based weapons would be used to attack ground targets, since there are already many cheaper and easier ways of achieving this. But space-based weapons could be just as effective in attacking other space-based weapons as they are in attacking ICBMs. Whether space weapons are offensive or defensive weapons may prove to be simply a question of who launches first.

### Pumping arms

The most obvious and straightforward countermeasure to a strategic defense is proliferation of offensive forces. A defense that might be highly effective against 10,000 warheads could prove worthless if confronted with 30,000 warheads.

The history of the arms race provides numerous examples of new offensive weapons deployed in response to strategic defenses. In the '60s the U.S. began deploying multiple warheads on American ICBMs and SLBMs in response to Soviet work on anti-missile systems. And in the '70s the U.S. initiated the air-launched cruise missile and Stealth bomber programs in response to Soviet air defense improvements.

The president's own advisers have concluded that the Soviets will probably respond to SDI by deploying more offensive forces. The Fletcher Panel was a group of scientists and engineers who designed the SDI program following Reagan's March 23, 1983, Star Wars speech. The panel concluded that the Soviets would probably deploy 30,000 ballistic missile warheads by the end of the century if the U.S. went ahead with SDI. This would be a four-fold increase over the Soviets' present arsenal.

The offense could have a considerable cost advantage over the defense. ICBMs—the offense—are a mature technology, and their development costs have already been paid. But space weapons—the defense—still have many years and billions of dollars of development ahead of them. For an equivalent budget the offense could perhaps double its force's size before the defense became operational.

### Losing control

SDI will imperil the future of arms control. It will make limitations on offensive weapons impossible to achieve. And it immediately threatens the 1972 Anti-Ballistic

Missile Treaty, the most important achievement of the arms control process to date.

If the Soviets respond to SDI by major increases in their offensive forces, they would quickly surpass the SALT II Treaty's limits. The type of deep reductions in offensive forces that are currently under discussion at the Geneva negotiations would clearly be impossible.

With the completion of the ABM Treaty and the Interim Agreement on offensive nuclear forces in May 1972, the superpowers recognized that limitations on defenses were a necessary—though not sufficient—condition for limitations on offensive forces. The treaty also formally acknowledged an overwhelming strategic reality: defense against missile attack was not feasible because the destructiveness of nuclear weapons gave offensive systems an insurmountable advantage.

The ABM Treaty permits the deployment by the U.S. and the USSR of 100 ABM interceptors at one site, the testing of fixed land-based systems and research on other technologies. It prohibits testing or deployment of space-based, air-based or ground-mobile systems of any type, including lasers. The Soviets are improving their one permitted site around Moscow, but it is of very limited effectiveness. The U.S. dismantled its one site in 1975.

SDI includes several field tests of prototype weapons that are inconsistent with the ABM Treaty provisions. These tests account for the major increases in SDI funding.

The issue of most immediate concern is the initiation of testing in 1988 of the Airborne Optical System (AOS), also known as the Airborne Optical Adjunct (ADA). AOS is a modified Boeing 767 aircraft that carries a pair of heat-sensitive, infra-red telescopes for tracking and identifying re-entry vehicles while they are still above the atmosphere for interception by mid-course

**The most obvious, straightforward countermeasure to a strategic defense is a proliferation of offensive forces. A highly effective defense against 10,000 warheads would fail against 30,000.**

and terminal defenses. The 1988 flight testing of AOS would be inconsistent with Article V(1) of the ABM Treaty that bans the development, testing or deployment of air-based ABM components.

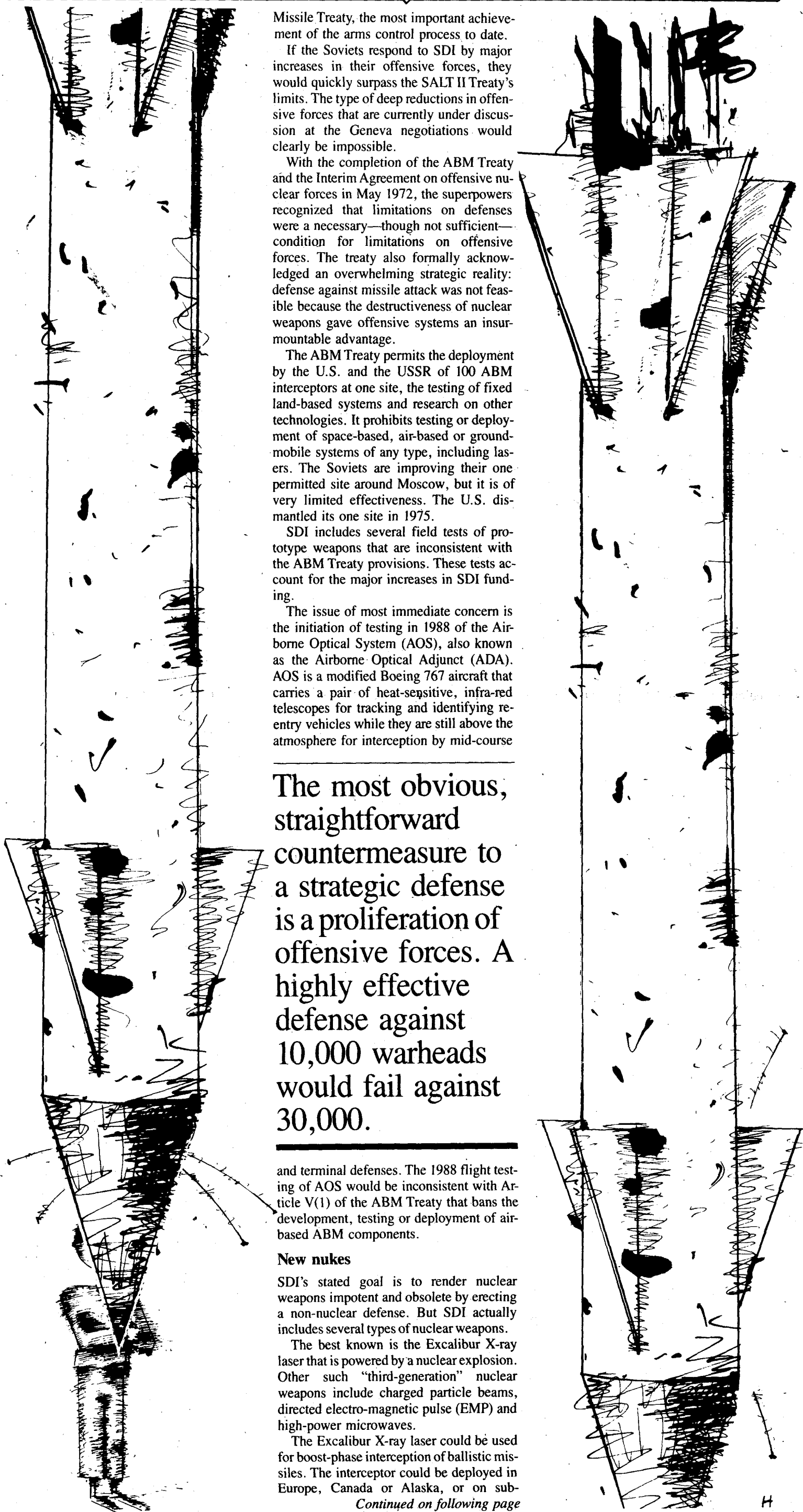
### New nukes

SDI's stated goal is to render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete by erecting a non-nuclear defense. But SDI actually includes several types of nuclear weapons.

The best known is the Excalibur X-ray laser that is powered by a nuclear explosion. Other such "third-generation" nuclear weapons include charged particle beams, directed electro-magnetic pulse (EMP) and high-power microwaves.

The Excalibur X-ray laser could be used for boost-phase interception of ballistic missiles. The interceptor could be deployed in Europe, Canada or Alaska, or on sub-

*Continued on following page*







By Diana Johnstone

**W**HAT IS THE CONNECTION between Star Wars and the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*? Just this: French determination to go on testing nuclear weapons in the Pacific, which motivated the attack on the Greenpeace protest ship, has been greatly reinforced by President Reagan's space weaponry program, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

The French reaction makes it clear that, far from making nuclear weapons obsolete, Reagan's proposed space shield against missiles is simply going to stimulate costly new programs to improve and modernize offensive nuclear weapons.

The French military establishment was at first somewhat dismayed by Star Wars. If the Americans built a space defense against incoming missiles, the Russians could be expected to do the same, and then the small French fleet of nuclear missiles would no longer pose any sort of credible retaliatory threat to the Soviet Union—as French doctrine claims they do today.

So the French were relieved to learn that Reagan's March 1984 claim that SDI "could render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete" was nothing but a sales pitch. French experts soon realized that the "shield" was only a challenge to be met by perfecting ways to pierce it. This realization was helped by Pentagon emissaries who seem to have offered tips on new technological fixes.

French nuclear arms policy originates in the Military Applications Directorate of the powerful Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique (CEA), which recently celebrated its 40th anniversary in a mood of unprecedented national consensus in favor of the *force de frappe*. In a special issue marking the anniversary and the consensus, the daily newspaper *Le Monde* interviewed CEA chief Gerard Renon on the direction of future research. Asked whether he had the feeling that he would "be entrusted with



Der Spiegel

## FRANCE

# U.S. initiatives reinforce nuclear deterrence policy

major military programs in the coming years, notably concerning nuclear weapons, what with the space defense systems evoked by President Reagan," Renon answered, "Of course."

The future of nuclear weapons, he said, must be seen from the angle of "modernization." Nuclear deterrence would go on being the foundation of French defense.

"After a phase of confusion, we have clarified our ideas as to what the American strategic defense initiative means and the prospects of space defense systems," the CEA chief said. "The experts' general conclusion is that there is no substitute for nuclear weapons. The utilization of space brings in a new dimension, raises the problem of the penetration of nuclear arms in terms that are new and that will evolve in the future and will oblige us in the course

of the next decade to perfect considerably our nuclear warheads, which is moreover within our ability to accomplish."

Renon added that "space defense systems are not expected to challenge the security of ballistic missiles in their propulsion phase for the next 30 years. Even then, supposing that potential adversaries should ever actually set up a defensive net of protection, it should be possible to make enough of the necessary holes in it to ensure the penetration of our missiles."

So when it comes to "security," there's nothing to worry about for the next 30 years...if you're a ballistic missile.

"At the moment when the Greenpeace affair is on the front page, what would you think if, by a political decision, the Pacific nuclear test center at Mururoa had to be closed?" *Le Monde* asked Renon, although

rent arms control policy. Increases of about \$1 billion annually are anticipated each year for the next decade.

The \$90 billion estimate and 10 years assumes that the SDI program proceeds according to the present plan. But this may prove optimistic. For the most part SDI consists of development efforts at the frontier of military science and technology. In recent years, similar efforts, such as the new anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon program, have been plagued by severe cost overruns and schedule delays. If SDI encounters the cost overruns and schedule delays that are typical of these high-risk, hi-tech projects, it could become a 20-year, \$225 billion development effort.

### Profits of doom

SDI's rapid growth will consume a rapidly increasing percentage of total Defense Department research and development funding. Prior to Star Wars, research on strategic defense consumed only a small part of the overall Pentagon research budget. But under SDI, this research will grow to more than 20 percent of the total by 1990, with further growth in following years. SDI is the difference between continued growth and declining budgets in the specialized areas of strategic forces research and military space research.

The cause for this is clear. Most of the large programs that have dominated the defense research budget in recent years are now close to completion: the MX missile, the B-1 bomber and others. No other strategic research programs of similar magnitude are planned.

Without Star Wars, much of the military research establishment, which grew as a result of those previous efforts, would find itself out of work. Star Wars fills this void. Another attraction is that there is no im-

mediate danger that the system will actually be deployed. Therefore, this research can continue for some time to come.

But by the mid-'90s, there will be a precipitous decline in SDI funding, unless a system is actually deployed. The political difficulties posed by termination of the B-1 bomber program suggest that similar pressures may arise with respect to a future decision on missile defense.

Given SDI's huge projected budgets, it is not surprising that the contractor community has expressed considerable interest in this program. Many companies are now using Star Wars as part of their advertising efforts, while others have formed special divisions to consolidate all of their work on SDI-related contracts. In addition, several efforts are underway to increase industrial cooperation in support of SDI.

Altogether, more than 200 companies are now working on \$2.5 billion in Star Wars contracts. While many of them are in California, more than a dozen other states are also home to companies working on SDI. As the program grows, new companies in additional states will be added to the roster.

But to date most states have received little if any of the Star Wars pie. This sharply contrasts with the B-1 bomber program, which was kept alive because virtually every congressional district had some company that had a piece of the action.

One way that SDI is building a political base is by awarding research contracts to universities. These contracts are going to states that are not otherwise receiving Star Wars contracts. They are a means of quickly creating a local political constituency for the program. But this has also created local resistance by administrators and faculties. Thousands of professors across the country have signed petitions stating their refusal

such a political decision in France is out of the question today.

"To modernize nuclear armament, we need testing," Renon answered, and politicians appear to agree.

This is not a "follow-up period" but a "period of anticipation" for the CEA, Renon said. "Our job is to work out the technologies of the future. Not to be satisfied with what has been done but improve, modernize and cause mutations. The CEA being a pole of technological research without equivalent in France, it is natural that the utilization of its competence is not limited to the nuclear field."

Renon then explained that the CEA was involved in electronics, new materials and robots. "The CEA is today a reservoir of technological evolution."

The CEA is above politics. It represents a force—the force of advanced technology—that all politicians want to conjure up as somehow their own when they come to office. The CEA was set up by Charles de Gaulle in 1945 with support from the Communists. The decision to undertake a secret program to develop nuclear arms was taken in December 1954 by the government of then Prime Minister Pierre Mendes-France. The public was not informed, but the governments that followed continued the program.

De Gaulle came back to power in time to reap the aura of the program begun before him, presiding over the first French nuclear explosion in the Sahara in 1960 and attaching it to a mystique of French national independence and grandeur. Modern rulers usually find that they cannot accomplish as much as they hoped. To have at their disposal a measureless destructive force helps create an illusion of power.

"The role of the CEA and its Military Applications Directorate is to propose to political leadership of the government the technical solutions enabling improvement of armaments and responding to an evolution of the other side's defenses," Renon explained. Star Wars is the occasion for many new proposals—and many more nuclear tests.

*Continued from preceding page*  
marines. These interceptor rockets would be launched into space on warning of attack. Each nuclear device would have several laser rods—perhaps 20—that would be powered when the device explodes.

SDI planners would like to use non-nuclear warheads for the rockets that would intercept offensive warheads after they re-enter the atmosphere. But one potential countermeasure open to the offensive is the use of maneuvering re-entry vehicles, known as MARVs. By making unpredictable maneuvers, MARVs can greatly complicate the defense's task as it directs ground-based rockets to intercept re-entry vehicles. Defense responses could include use of additional interceptors to cover all possible courses that a MARV might take, or significant increases in the maneuverability of each interceptor. But these would be very expensive. Should the offense resort to maneuvering re-entry vehicles, SDI terminal interceptor rockets would probably require the use of an enhanced radiation warhead with a yield in the low kiloton range similar to those deployed in previous American ABM systems.

### Sky's the limit

SDI is frequently referred to as a \$26 billion, five-year program. But this cost and time frame is a product of the Defense Department budget process, which only projects five years into the future. With the new FY 1986 budget request, which gives funding figures through 1990, the SDI is now a six-year, \$33 billion program.

In fact, the SDI's initial development phase will run through 1994, at a cost of about \$90 billion. SDI is intended to support a deployment decision in the 1994 time frame, as part of the New Strategic Concept that is the basis of the administration's cur-

to accept SDI money and their opposition to the program (see story page 2).

### Not just another jobs program

Although SDI's technical complexity poses new challenges, it also provides new opportunities. Opposition to strategic systems such as the MX or the B-1 bomber emerged only when the weapon was about to be deployed. But by the time opposition was mobilized, these projects had developed massive industrial constituencies.

Fortunately, Star Wars is still only a research program, and several years will pass before defense contractors become overly dependent on it. This offers citizens the unique chance to decide Star Wars' future before it becomes a jobs program for the aerospace industry.

The university community's resistance to SDI could provide a guide for others who oppose it. Local focus is an important ingredient in public education about peace and disarmament issues. The following tactics could be employed locally to stop Star Wars:

- Companies that are considering working on SDI could be discouraged from doing so;

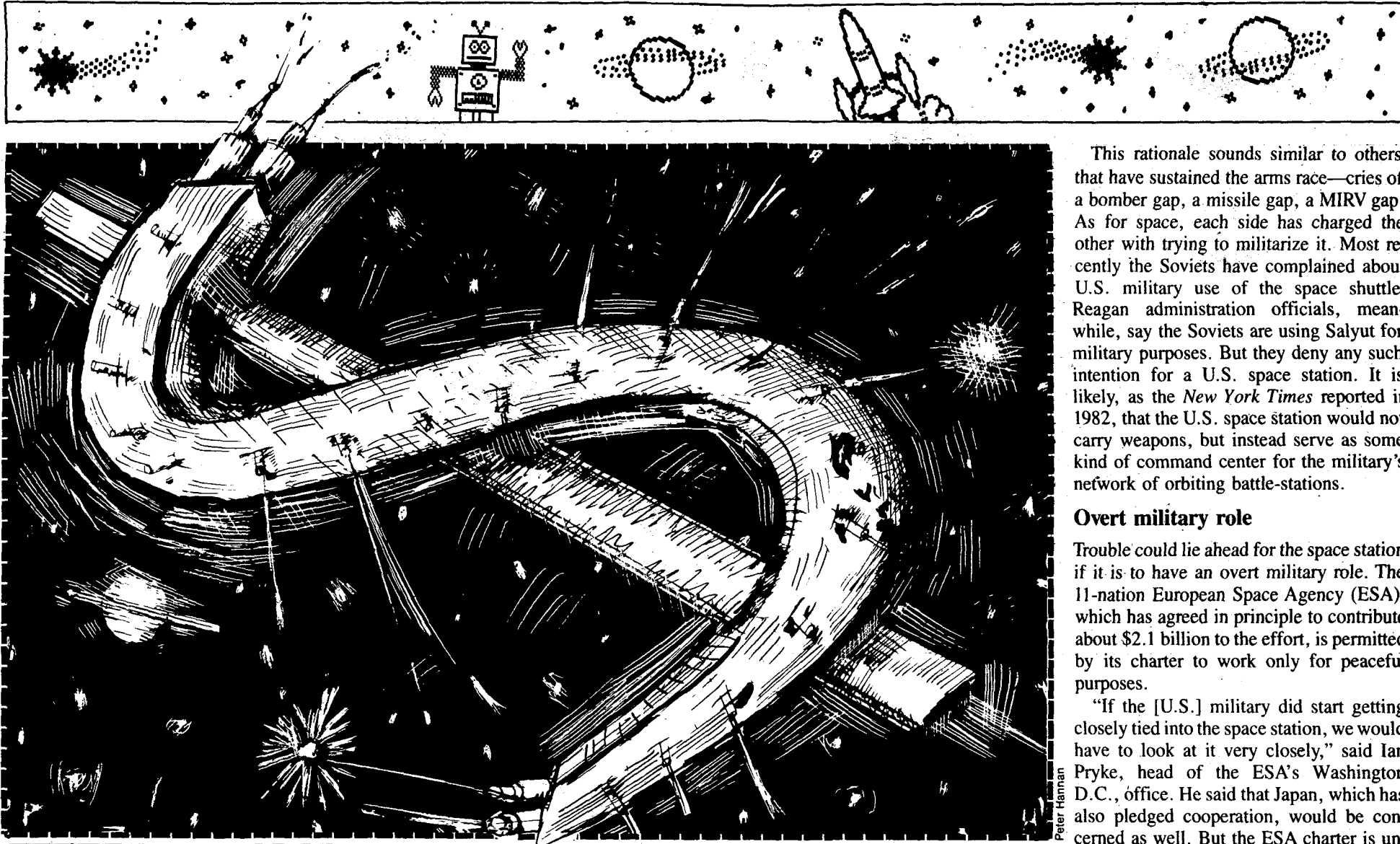
- Economic conversion plans could be worked out for companies already involved in Star Wars development; and

- Companies and government facilities associated with SDI can be sites of public events to draw attention to Star Wars dangers.

It's important for citizens to remember that although Star Wars weapons may be deployed in space, they will be built on Earth.

**John Pike** is the associate director for space policy at the Federation of American Scientists. He is the author of a number of articles and studies on space and national security policy.





By S.K. Levin

## TECHNOLOGY

# Space station will up ante in weapons race

**T**HE PERMANENTLY OCCUPIED space station that President Reagan directed NASA to build within a decade is widely viewed as a wondrous thing that will peacefully extend the human domain well beyond its earthbound perch.

It could be the steppingstone for exploring the planets and the universe beyond—a dream that has lured imagination and technology far longer than the 14-or-more years NASA, the nation's space agency, has funded space station development. Its minimal-gravity environment could open new vistas in manufacturing and product development, from improved electronic components to unique metal alloys to new medicines.

Of course, the cost is high. Several years ago station cost was pegged at \$3-\$5 billion. It now hovers at \$8 billion. And federal officials predict it will end up costing \$20-\$30 billion.

This year NASA began dispensing some 400 contracts, which are expected to stimulate the space-defense industry much as the Apollo and space-shuttle programs did during the '60s and '70s. Everyone seems excited by the concept. The only problem is, hardly anyone outside of NASA can figure out why the U.S. has decided to build a space station.

Every scientist interviewed by *In These Times* said that the station—which has been plugged as a boon to science—won't do anything for science that can't be done some other, far less expensive way. Most, in fact, confided great apprehension that the station would cut deeply into NASA's already static science budget.

"The space station will affect the scientific community very adversely," said James Van Allen, the physicist whose 1958 experiment aboard NASA's first satellite resulted in the discovery of the Van Allen Radiation Belts. "It will absorb a good fraction of the NASA budget for the next 12-14 years," reducing the prospects for improving the portion of the budget expended on science.

Freeman Dyson, a Princeton physicist and outspoken critic of U.S. weapons policy, called the station "a disaster for science. It looks like it will be just like the shuttle, only worse."

Dyson, when asked why NASA is pursuing the station, confided a rumor, which he believes was started by NASA Administrator James Beggs. Reagan was given the choice of endorsing either of two big-ticket space projects: the space station or a heavy-lift rocket for the Pentagon's "Star Wars"

program. The president, Dyson continued, chose the space station after contemplating how his administration would be remembered in 50 years—for launching an exploration of the universe or for building more weapons.

## Twist of fate

In choosing the space station, Reagan may in fact have done more to further Star Wars than if he had selected the rocket, which eventually became a NASA project anyway.

Another version of what motivated Reagan's go-ahead on the space station was reported by *Aviation Week and Space Technology*. To the dismay of many who had hoped he would endorse the station in October 1983 on NASA's 25th anniversary celebration, Reagan delayed his decision for three months until the completion of two studies: the Fletcher Report on Star Wars feasibility and a Pentagon assessment of the military's need for a space station.

The classified Fletcher Report, prepared under the direction of former NASA Administrator James Fletcher, indicated that a manned space station would be needed to deploy a Star Wars antiballistic-missile weapon system, the magazine reported. The Pentagon's study, meanwhile, determined that "potential new missions" such as space weapons now "justify" the Department of Defense's participation in the space station "as a user interested in exploiting technical opportunities and minimizing technological surprise."

Despite these links between Star Wars and the space station, the connection has eluded much of the media and many Star Wars critics. And the oft-publicized lack of interest in the space station hasn't made the puzzle any clearer.

But the list of those who oppose the station is long. Former Budget Director David Stockman said it would drive up the already booming national deficit. A congressional Office of Technology Assessment report cites "no justifiable reason." The National Academy of Sciences' Space Science Board sees no scientific need in the next 20 years, concluding: "We have not yet learned how

to use the shuttle efficiently and effectively as a manned orbiting laboratory." Carl Sagan and the Planetary Society officially oppose a space station as NASA's next major priority.

*Space Business News*, summarizing a Senate space-station hearing in November 1983, reported that witnesses from industry, government and science generally concurred that neither scientific nor commercial needs justify the venture. Only "prestige and leadership in space can justify building a station, especially since the USSR is advancing its space-station project," the journal wrote.

Technological superiority over the Soviets and national prestige apparently loom large. U.S. intelligence analysts fre-

## The connection between Star Wars and the space station has eluded much of the media and, suprisingly, many Star Wars critics.

quently refer to the military capabilities of the Soviet Union's Salyut 7 space station, alleging that Russian cosmonauts performed laser-weapons targeting and tracking tests and that the station has global reconnaissance capabilities. Recently, *Aviation Week* reported that the USSR may soon launch a larger manned space station said to contain Star Wars-type, directed-energy weapons for the station's self defense. U.S. officials, according to the magazine, say this "could serve to deny the U.S. access to space if we falter in responding."

This rationale sounds similar to others that have sustained the arms race—cries of a bomber gap, a missile gap, a MIRV gap. As for space, each side has charged the other with trying to militarize it. Most recently the Soviets have complained about U.S. military use of the space shuttle. Reagan administration officials, meanwhile, say the Soviets are using Salyut for military purposes. But they deny any such intention for a U.S. space station. It is likely, as the *New York Times* reported in 1982, that the U.S. space station would not carry weapons, but instead serve as some kind of command center for the military's network of orbiting battle-stations.

## Overt military role

Trouble could lie ahead for the space station if it is to have an overt military role. The 11-nation European Space Agency (ESA), which has agreed in principle to contribute about \$2.1 billion to the effort, is permitted by its charter to work only for peaceful purposes.

"If the [U.S.] military did start getting closely tied into the space station, we would have to look at it very closely," said Ian Pryke, head of the ESA's Washington, D.C., office. He said that Japan, which has also pledged cooperation, would be concerned as well. But the ESA charter is unclear, because international law defines peaceful purposes as "non-aggressive." Clearly, it would pose a problem if the U.S. announced that the station would carry weapons. Less certain, however, is the station's role in the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Because the administration promotes SDI as a defensive system, it could, Pryke said, be construed as non-aggressive.

A White House science adviser, who said "commercialization" was the main factor motivating the president, vehemently denied any connection between the space station and SDI. "Military, yes, but SDI, no," he said.

A spokesman in the SDI office in Washington said that SDI has no firm requirement for a space station. Yet a journalist who reports on space for a military-industry trade journal confided that "SDI is going to be a major user of the space station. Oh sure, very, very definitely."

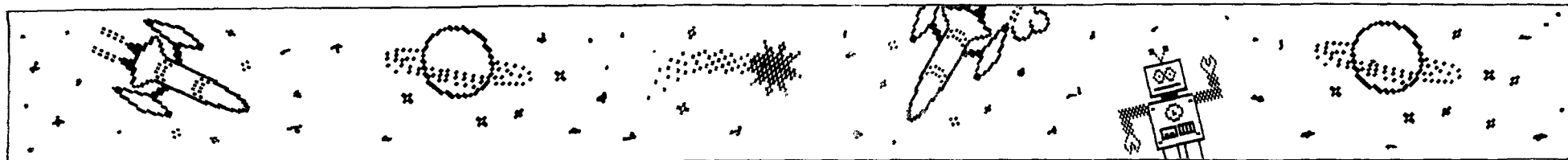
"We have sources at the Pentagon who have told us that the space station is being promoted as a non-military venture, but that down the road there are in fact plans for it to be of a military nature," said Carol Rosin of the Institute for Security and Cooperation, which supports many international weapons-free space stations.

Thirteen years ago, during congressional hearings on the space shuttle, some witnesses argued that the money would be better spent on earthly problems, such as housing, mass transit, education and the environment. Astronaut Brian O'Leary testified: "Many observers allege that the major reason for having a space shuttle is to restore employment and economic vitality to NASA and a crippled aerospace industry... It is not difficult to imagine, however, that once the shuttle becomes operational... aerospace may once again search for a new space technology..." But a Grumman executive asserted that voting down the shuttle would condemn a majority of Americans to progressively inferior living standards and relegate the U.S. as a "second-rate technological power subject to coercion by other nations which are more power-conscious." A General Dynamics vice president testified that without the shuttle program laid-off aerospace workers would display "bitterness toward the government that will in all probability be adopted by their offspring."

Congress bought the shuttle, originally estimated at \$5.5 billion. Eventually it gobbled \$15 billion in taxpayers' money and is today under the control of the military. The space station may meet a similar fate.

**S.K. Levin writes on science and technology for the *Colorado Daily* in Boulder.**





## LATIN AMERICA

## Drafting the South into the nuclear arc

By Carol Wise

**L**UIS BARBIERI OF THE *LATINAMERICA Press* reported recently, "The U.S. and Britain are moving ahead with the establishment of a nuclear cordon around the Southern Cone countries of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay." Plans for the creation of a subcontinental nuclear arc include the construction of a British military facility in the Antarctic zone and the expansion by the U.S. of the Easter Island airport for possible use by U.S. space shuttles.

The U.S. is also reportedly considering the installation of a base on Easter Island—a Chilean possession 3,800 kilometers off the nation's coast—that would house strategic bombers and direct nuclear submarines. In fact, the site is considered crucial to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), also known as "Star Wars," which identifies Easter Island as a major link in forming the so-called "space shield."

In just a few years top-level debates on U.S.-Latin American security policy have gone from cautious congressional testimony over the pros and cons of selling the F-16 fighter aircraft to Venezuela to multi-billion dollar schemes for turning the region into a potential theater of operations in the event of an East-West conflict.

In July 1981 Reagan issued a presidential directive on conventional arms transfer policy, promising to "deal with the world as it is rather than as we would like it to be."

The directive marked a break with the Carter presidency and proposed an effective rebuilding of the U.S. armed forces and of the armed forces of American friends and allies throughout the world, so as to block the "pervasive global threat from the Soviet Union."

The directive envisioned a qualitative shift in the kinds of countries with which the U.S. will be "concluding arms sales." Developing countries were singled out as desperately in "need of more effective means of defending themselves against very real potential threats." Thus, although the Reagan directive was geared mainly toward arms transfers, the policy has subsequently set the tone for all forms of U.S. security assistance.

## Going to the dogs

Reagan's immediate security advisors during both administrations have been disdainful of the Carter era as one in which the U.S. more or less threw our friends and allies to "the dogs"—the Soviets. The most vitriolic attacks from within the Reagan camp have been directed at Carter's attempt to take into account a particular regime's human rights record as a major criterion for arms transfer decisions.

Yet close scrutiny of Carter's 1977 presidential directive on arms sales shows that the linking of arms transfer policies with human rights practices was only one of many criteria set forth.

Other guidelines in the Carter directive, *Continued on following page*



## Peru bucking Reagan administration's attempt to escalate military assistance

Many local governments in Latin America, particularly the emerging South American democracies, perceive the exaggerated imbalances in military aid as a threat to delicate civilian-military relations within their own borders and throughout the region. And as Latin America struggles through the most severe economic crisis of the century, some countries are beginning to express an open preference for aid oriented toward economic recovery and adjustment. Peru is a case in point.

As the only other recipient of Soviet arms in Latin America outside of Cuba and Nicaragua, Peru has become of key strategic importance to the Reagan administration. A 1983 Heritage Foundation report warns that "U.S. policy makers must understand the threat and...the U.S. must assume that Peru is targeted [by the Soviets] for a reason." The report also identifies Peru as a prime security concern because of its location on the west coast of South America, adjacent to vital sea routes to the Panama Canal. Finally, the report links Peru's *Sendero Luminoso* guerrilla movement with an international network of Soviet-Cuban subversion, and recommends heavy increases in U.S. military aid to Peru in order to deter this perceived threat to U.S. national security interests.

Accordingly, the 1986 U.S. budget requests for security assistance to Peru saw an eight-fold increase over 1985 military aid levels. The proposed assistance fell into the following categories: an \$18 mil-

lion grant for military equipment, services and training under the Military Assistance Program; \$10 million in credit and loan guarantees to maintain U.S. equipment and finance the installation of permanent security facilities under the Foreign Military Sales program; \$8.5 million to train 260 military enlistees and officers at home and abroad under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program; and a substantial \$45 million in Economic Support Funds (formerly known as "Security Supporting Assistance") that goes directly into the national treasury to provide balance of payments support for pursuing other security interests.

The Peruvian military, however, is the fourth largest in Latin America, and as such is in little need of external aid or assistance. By late 1980, Peru had the highest Latin American ratio of defense expenditures to gross national product, and military imports were highest as a percentage of international reserves and total imports. Peru's huge military has also placed it at the top of Amnesty International's list of human rights abusers in South America, leading the House Foreign Affairs Committee to veto the \$18 million military aid grant from the president's fiscal year 1986 request. The veto was later overturned when the foreign aid bill reached the House floor, and human rights language regarding Peru was also significantly weakened in the final bill.

U.S. bolstering of the Peruvian military has been justified as a response to the "Sov-

iet menace." But Peru has purchased arms and equipments from the Soviets for more than 10 years. With the deterioration of U.S.-Peruvian relations during Peru's nationalist military phase in the early '70s and a prior record of U.S. refusal to sell modern aircraft to Peru, the Peruvians turned to Moscow for favorable credits on large amounts of equipment needed to modernize their ground and air forces.

But the Soviets are not Peru's only suppliers. Data from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency show that by the late '70s Peru had achieved its goal of not depending on one supplier, and between 1978-82 the French, West Germans, Italians and U.S. had joined the Soviets as suppliers of arms to Peru.

While the Soviet sales had brought some 150 Soviet advisers to Peru at last count, the political outcome of this arms relationship is clear evidence that arms suppliers are not always able to exert their political will over the buyer. A Congressional Research Service report published in 1981 wrote that "extensive Soviet military assistance to Peru's reformist military government in the '70s was noteworthy for its total lack of political benefit to the Soviets, as well as its lack of lasting influence on Peruvian politics."

Given that a large portion of these Soviet arms are now being used to combat the guerrilla insurgency, it is likely that the Soviets are advising Peru on the use of weapons against the Maoist guerrillas. This, combined with the assertions of

local social scientists and journalists that the guerrilla problem is indigenous to Peru and *Sendero Luminoso* is in fact hostile to outside interference, has caused even the most conservative Peruvian politicians to scoff at this picture of Soviet influence in Peru painted by Reaganite ideologues.

Peru's recently elected center-left president, Alan Garcia, has become an outspoken advocate of regional disarmament. Since his July inauguration, Garcia has taken the lead in drawing the connection between the debt crisis and bloated military spending in Latin America.

As one of the top 20 Third World debtors, Peruvian arms imports from 1976-80 were equivalent to 20 percent of the increase in debt. As Garcia moves to reverse this trend, he has been openly critical of the Reagan administration for its hands-off attitude toward resolving the debt crisis, yet at the same time promoting a security policy that siphons off precious economic resources into the military's coffers. Bankers, curiously, still do not consider this blatant waste of economic resources a subject of serious discussion when they sit down to negotiate their seemingly endless rounds of rescue operations with the Latin Americans.

Garcia has sent shock waves through the Peruvian military establishment with his professed determination to cut back on a military budget that now consumes 25 percent of domestic outlays and with his reduction in the number of Mirage jets to be purchased from France this year.

Demanding that the U.S. stop "blaming Latin America's very pressing social demands on the Soviets," Garcia has called for a U.S. foreign policy toward South America that is more cohesive and thoughtful. —C.W.



Continued from preceding page

such as the ceiling on the dollar volume of U.S. foreign military sales and the prohibition against being the "first supplier to introduce into a region newly developed, advanced weapon systems," actually represented a culmination of congressional initiatives on arms control that had been in the making since the early '70s and embodied legislatively in the International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976.

By 1980 the cumulative effects of Carter's efforts to reduce and rationalize U.S. arms flows began to show: U.S. arms transfer values in the Carter period were, on the average, about on par with those of the Nixon and Ford years. Behind this trend of keeping the lid on U.S. transfers was a gradual shift in the composition of multi-lateral suppliers to the Third World. In Latin America, the U.S. went from being the lead supplier in the early '70s, dominating five of 12 major weapons categories, to controlling three by the end of the decade. The Western European suppliers, on the other hand, shifted places with the U.S. and increased their lead from three to five of the major weapons supplied to Latin America. The Soviets maintained their role as the prime supplier of four types of weapons to the region throughout the '70s.

### Undoing the past

It is, of course, this last trend, seen as a loss of U.S. predominance as the major arms supplier to Latin America, that has sent Reaganaut "security" policy on an ideological rampage. Cloaked in the guise of *realpolitik* and obsessed by the need to fend off the perceived Cuban-Soviet threat, the political impulse during the past five years has been one of rapidly undoing the

more cautious policy framework of the past. The result is the promotion of an arms race and militarization process within the region that is potentially more frightening than any external threat, be it imagined or real.

As Michael Klare notes in his book *American Arms Supermarket*, "U.S. sales to Latin America soared in the first two years of Reagan's tenure, from \$31.9 million in 1980 to \$226.1 million in 1981 and \$700 million in 1982."

And there are now few qualms about human rights, despite the continuing mandate of the Arms Export and Control Act to restrict arms flows to abusive regimes, and few hesitations about the transfer of highly sophisticated weaponry to the region. With Reagan's 1981 inauguration, regimes with nightmarish human rights records, such as Guatemala, became eligible for U.S. military aid and arms purchases, and negotiations were quickly concluded for the sale of supersonic fighters to Venezuela ostensibly to help protect our Caribbean sea lanes.

The extent to which U.S. security efforts have superseded economic development objectives in the region is one of the most dramatic U.S. policy trade-offs of the '80s. Between fiscal years 1980-81 alone, figures compiled by the Washington Office on Latin America show a 279 percent jump in U.S. military assistance. By 1982 congressional budget requests for security assistance and economic aid to Latin America had virtually changed places in the foreign aid bill: whereas military support consumed 32 percent of the aid bill in 1978 and 13 percent in 1979, with economic aid representing the remainder, the 1982 and 1983 military aid requests were more than 50 percent of the total U.S. aid package to the region, according to the Washington Office on Latin America. Placed in the context of the Third

World as a whole, the military component of the U.S. foreign assistance act will have risen from 18 percent in 1970 to about 50 percent in 1986, according to the Washington Report on the Hemisphere.

This '80s security doctrine has crystallized most obviously in Central America. Formerly one of the least armed areas of the world, Klare estimates that since 1981 the total U.S. security assistance bill to Central America has jumped from \$145.9 million to more than \$700 million in 1984. This resort to a primarily military means of diplomacy met with some congressional opposition, however. During the Senate debates over the foreign assistance authorization bill for 1986, for example, Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) and several other Democrats expressed dismay at the "very sharp rises in the military assistance program, particularly in the grant portion of that program which has increased five-fold in the last three years," accompanied by "a falloff in the commitment to development aid" in the same period. But, as confirmed by the final outcome on last spring's aid bill to the Nicaraguan rebels, this opposition from the Democratic ranks has not been able to sustain itself beyond mere lip service. For fear of appearing too soft on Communism, most of the potential Democratic opposition has jumped on the Cold War bandwagon.

This Reagan security apparatus has turned the domino theory on its head. As indicated by debates currently within the Organization of American States (OAS) over U.S. and British military activities in the South Atlantic, the fear of falling prey to Communism has been replaced in Latin America by a much greater fear of being cast unwillingly as a major actor in Reagan's staged East-West conflict. In regard to U.S. and British intentions to form a nuclear arc

around the Southern Cone countries, Argentine Foreign Minister Dante Caputo told the OAS this year that the plan "brings with it the nuclearization of the South Atlantic and ignores the peaceful interests of Latin America."

It also treads on local efforts to build a sane framework for peaceful resolution of conflict. It was the Latins, after all, who established the world's first nuclear weapons-free zone with the Treaty of Tlateloco, and this has been followed up with other agreements such as the Treaty of Ayacucho, which place regional limits on the acquisition of conventional arms.

As Reagan and his cabinet forge ahead with an unprecedented military buildup, history is not likely to look back on this period as an age of political or economic reason. This security policy, as applied to Latin America, ignores a regional tradition of the lowest levels of military spending and arms imports throughout the developing world. At the close of the Carter era more than 95 percent of the world's arms trade was conducted outside of Latin America. And until recently, the bulk of the existing Latin arms trade consisted mainly of the cheapest and technologically less sophisticated equipment and weapons.

But now, as Star Wars permeates the Southern Hemisphere with minimal public awareness and much less debate, countries such as Chile and Argentina, which have virtually nothing to do with the East-West conflicts, may soon be first in the line of fire in the event of a nuclear conflict.

■ Carol Wise is a visiting researcher at the Instituto Estudios Peruanos in Lima, Peru. Research for this article was supported by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace, Conflict & Security.

### BUTTONS—50¢ each (High quality lock or safety pin)

9. Question Authority
20. Minds Are Like Parachutes — They Only Function When Open
48. People Before Profits
56. Go Reds — Smash State
64. Sure, I'm a Marxist (see t-shirt art)
71. Wild Women Don't Get the Blues
74. U.S. Out of North America
83. Why Do We Kill People Who Kill People to Show People That Killing People is Wrong?
87. I Read Banned Books
88. Wearing Buttons is Not Enough
106. Teach Peace
107. You Can't Hug a Child With Nuclear Arms
108. If the People Lead, Eventually the Leaders Will Follow
110. Military Intelligence is a Contradiction in Terms
111. If You Think the System is Working Ask Someone Who Isn't
114. Nuke a Gay Whale for Christ
116. Another KGB Dupe for Peace
117. El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam
120. Oh, So That Explains the Difference in Our Salaries (art shows two toddlers examining their diapers)
121. Peace is Patriotic
122. Free Peltier (with "Eagleman" art)
125. Panic Now — Avoid the Rush
133. Don't Believe Everything You're Told
137. Lobotomies for Republicans—It's the Law
140. Cut Crime with Jobs — Not Jails
141. Don't Blame Me — I'm from Minnesota
142. It's As Bad As You Think — And They're Out To Get You
143. Nutrition Quiz (see t-shirt graphic)

### HAND-CRAFTED COPPER & ENAMEL PINS

beautifully made jewelry  
pins \$2.50 stars \$2.00  
Educate/Agitate/Organize  
Capitalism is organized crime  
Feed the poor/not the Pentagon  
Woman's place is in her union  
Be realistic/Demand the impossible  
Rape is violence not sex  
Hands off Nicaragua  
IWW Sabo Cat (black on red)  
Red, lavender or black stars (½ inch dia.)

### PRODUCTS FOR PROGRESSIVES

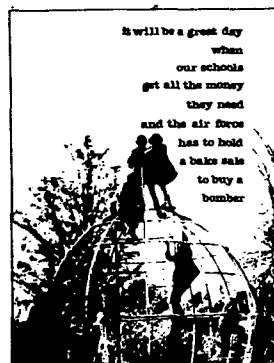
#### T-SHIRTS — \$6.95 each

(Sizes: S 34-36; M 38-40; L 40-42; XL 46. All cotton unless noted.)


### POSTERS

Is your washroom breeding  
**Bolsheviks?**  
Newly Re-issued!  
**Bolsheviks**  
\$3.00  
red & black ink on white  
11 x 17 poster

Schools Not Bombs  
\$3.00  
WILPF Poster  
blue ink on yellow - 17 x 22



Many more items available in our  
**FREE CATALOG**

Wholesale inquiries welcomed.

**Mail Order Information:**

Minimum order: \$3.00.

Please add \$1.00 postage.

Send check or money order with order.

**SATISFACTION GUARANTEED**

**Northern Sun Merchandising**  
2736 Lyndale Avenue South, Box 177  
Minneapolis, MN 55408  
(612) 874-6409



# INSHORT

And many bishops are grumbling about the amount of time a reassessment would take.

## Ministering to women

Margaret Thatcher aside, women in Great Britain have not improved their lot much in recent years. A small group of women and men inside the Labour Party hopes to change all that. Their prescription: the Labour Party, if elected, should institute a Ministry of Women's Rights.

The Department of Women's Rights would place a minister on the cabinet, would evaluate other departments as their work affects women and would oversee a grassroots network of Regional Equal Opportunity Units that would monitor women's progress in education, training and employment. The Department would also be expected to foster legislation to strengthen Britain's Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts, and encourage governmental bodies to hire qualified women.

The group advocating the new ministry (led by Jo Richardson, a Member of Parliament and spokesperson for women's rights for the Labour Party) drew up a list last month of the specific legislation they'd like to see other departments achieve. According to the proposers, the Department of Employment should introduce a statutory minimum wage, "much shorter" working hours and training for public sector jobs. The department of Health and Social Security should make sure that local authorities provide free child-care facilities for three- and four-year-olds, remove discrimination from state benefits and pensions and enhance child-care benefits to help single parents. The Home Office is asked to act against "sexist advertisements and pornographic displays" and boost support for battered women and rape victims.

Though these and other pro-women positions already have the party's verbal support, a Ministry for Women's Rights is intended to put muscle behind the party's policy statements. But the plan cannot work unless it has the wholehearted backing of a Labour prime minister. So far, Labour's Neil Kinnock has expressed interest in naming a minister, but hasn't thrown in his support for a full department with statutory powers.

## Guatemalan terrorism

Barbarism is alive and thriving in Guatemala, where 100 Indian peasants are kidnapped every month, relentlessly tortured, maimed and murdered in the most barbaric and brutal ways. Rigoberta Menchu, a Guatemalan peasant whose father, mother and brother were victims of security forces and paralegal death squads, was invited recently by the Committee in Support of the People of Guatemala to speak at Riverside Church in New York City. Menchu's appearance was a part of an all-day teach-in on Guatemala that included seminars on the conditions of human rights there, the U.S.-backed November 3 election and the Reagan administration's intentions to normalize relations in order to set the stage for a renewed flow of military and economic support.

Menchu also responded to Ronald Reagan's latest attempt to stem the tide of international terrorism. She denounced the administration's proposal, currently being considered in Congress, to spend \$57 million to beef up security forces in Central America, with \$5 million slotted to go directly to Guatemala. "To support the generals and politicians who starve and assassinate our children is the real act of terrorism," Menchu told *In These Times*. "You finance the military in my country and put humanity in danger." According to Menchu, if the U.S. was sincerely interested in eliminating terrorism, "it would start with the current military chiefs who have created the hidden jails and led the genocidal massacres against my people."

"Why can't you finance the rescue of human dignity and the rescue of the children who are the future of our world? The real terror is that hundreds of people in Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala are living in misery and hunger and dying of disease and starvation."

Menchu, like many critics of her country's policies, does not believe that U.S.-financed elections will make a bit of difference for the majority of Guatemalans. "Whether we have elections or a coup," concluded Menchu, it won't make a difference for the popular struggle. The only difference is that the illusion of democratic elections may make the work of the resistance movement in her country that much more difficult, as it will facilitate U.S. meddling in Guatemala and intervention in Central America.

*This week's contributor: Dennis Bernstein*



A Project Disarm protest led to the arrest of 124 people at the Rock Island Arsenal October 23. The arsenal—which is buttressed on a 964-acre island on the Mississippi River between Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island and Moline, Illinois—is the U.S. military's largest manufacturing arsenal, making M198 howitzers and M85 machine guns. It also produces chemical warfare supplies. Two hundred and fifty protesters from Pax Christi, the Pledge of Resistance, the Catholic Workers, No Pasaran and the Lake County Peace Alliance traveled from nearby cities in an attempt to "shut down the arsenal."

**Margaret Randall**, poet and author of several books, including *Christians in the Nicaraguan Revolution* and *Sandino's Daughters* is suing the INS for denying her the right to reside in the U.S. Randall, born in the U.S., became a Mexican citizen in 1967 for financial reasons. She was recently denied permanent residence status—the first step of regaining U.S. citizenship—by the INS on the basis of the McCarran-Walter Act. The lawsuit, brought by the Center for Constitutional Rights and the American Civil Liberties Union, represents a constitutional challenge to the act, which excludes people from citizenship on the basis of "political ideology." Norman Mailer, Alice Walker, Kurt Vonnegut, Grace Paley, Toni Morrison and other well-known authors are joining Randall in her lawsuit, claiming that their rights

to associate with and receive information from her are being violated.

**The World Council of Churches** (WCC) announced grants to 37 organizations last month under its Program to Combat Racism. Many grants were focused on South Africa, including \$77,000 to the African National Congress to help with its work with refugees and to build its information network, \$110,000 to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) for legal aid and educational assistance and \$25,000 to the Free South Africa movement to expand its organizational activities. The WCC, the largest ecumenical body in the world, earmarked \$396,000 for groups in 14 countries.

**The San Antonio, Texas**, city health department officials recently

hand-delivered letters to 14 AIDS victims warning that sexual activity would result in felony charges against them. Mayor Henry Cisneros says that AIDS carriers should "transcend their individual rights in deference to society."

**The Stop Star Wars Initiative** is calling for loud and visible demonstrations, rallies and meetings throughout the country November 15-19 to protest Reagan's unwillingness to abandon Star Wars for the Soviet's offer of a 50 percent reduction in arms. The Initiative is endorsed by more than 70 individuals and groups, including Rep. John Conyers (D-MI), Salvador Luria of MIT, Stephen Jay Gould of Harvard, Science for the People and the Detroit City Council. For more information call (212) 741-0633.

deterrence "strictly conditional moral acceptance." They added that they would monitor U.S. policy to ensure that the administration opposes first-strike strategy, doesn't attempt to seek nuclear superiority and moves toward progressive disarmament.

But now, with the continuing development and deployment of first-strike weapons, the talk of Star Wars and the U.S. lack of response to the Soviets' testing moratorium, Catholic peace groups like Pax Christi are calling for a "reassessment" of the pastoral's stance on nuclear deterrence. As Rev. Bob Susa told *In These Times*: "We're only asking them to look at what is happening today. Any reasonable person would have to say that if this is what our nuclear policy has to be like to be moral, then the conditions are no longer being met. The bishops made a prophetic statement in 1983, but they've backed away from it."

Though it's expected that at their November meeting a bishop will request the NCCB to begin a reassessment process, insiders are not so sure that the request will generate any new deliberations. Any hint of confrontation with the Reagan administration around the time of the summit would not be the bishops' style.

Beth Maschinot

## Peace fix

The U.S. Catholic bishops, who've recently released the second draft of their economic pastoral, are being asked by peace groups to return to their 1983 peace pastoral with an eye toward making a major change. The National Council of Catholic Bishops' (NCCB) toughest fight in drawing up the 1983 *Challenge of Peace* was the time-consuming and contentious negotiations around the question of the U.S. policy of nuclear deterrence: is it moral to produce and stockpile nuclear weapons as a method of deterring nuclear war?

Though several of the "peace bishops"—Detroit's Thomas Gumbleton foremost among them—had argued that the U.S. position on nuclear deterrence was morally bankrupt, the NCCB was torn. They eventually compromised with a statement that gives U.S. nuclear



# LETTERS

## A first step

I'M WRITING TO ADVOCATE UNILATERAL partial disarmament. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy favored reduction of the military. Removal of the superfluous from the military has been suggested for a long time but is not mentioned much anymore. Our president is unresponsive but respected experts tell us that our blind actions are leading to economic depression, degradation of the environment to unsustainability and/or extermination.

The military, arms makers and their agents frighten us to prepare for attack as an excuse for endless arms increases. But only a small fraction of what now exists is required for defense because the nuclear powers have enough to eliminate life on earth almost 100 times over.

Therefore, as a first step, why not reduce armaments to the minimum needed for defense? This would be popular when properly explained and could lead to complete demilitarization.

We should dismantle more than 98 percent of our atomic bombs to fewer than needed for multiple earthwide annihilation. We'd gain security by lowering the chance of firing by accident, error or madness yet could still promise mutual extermination if attacked. We'd gain by converting nuclear handling to useful social jobs. We'd gain in health by decreasing exposure to permanently damaging radiation. Major nuclear arms reduction is purely advantageous.

Much more military can be eliminated without losing defense capability. Get rid of what has become obsolete "conventional" hardware and convert the superfluous jobs of almost all defense personnel

**In These Times** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

to useful pursuits. Just a few nuclear bombs in delivery vehicles can promise worldwide annihilation without anti-quoted weaponry.

Negotiations for permanent peace can be held now or later, during or after these intelligent unilateral actions. Either way, unilateral arms reduction would stimulate agreement for nonviolence.

I would like to see this plan promoted by such organizations as Nuclear Freeze, Common Cause, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, American Friends Service Committee, Greenpeace, SANE, Green Party, WAND and others. Let the decisionmakers hear our cry, then act wisely.

William Loran  
Tiburon, Calif.

## Post-earthquake Mexico

WILLIAM GASPERINI DISCUSSED THE aftermath of the Mexico City earthquakes and focused considerable attention on Tepito, a self-sufficient community in Mexico City (*ITT*, Oct. 15).

Gustava Esteva, a community organizer in Tepito, happened to visit Berkeley a few days before the earthquake. He gave a talk describing his community and showed slides demonstrating Tepito's

day-to-day conviviality and self-sufficiency.

The earthquake occurred shortly after his return. In the midst of the devastation, Esteva wrote a letter to his friends in Berkeley, of which this is a shortened version:

"Dear Friends: Our problem is not the earthquake. We have lost friends and brothers, *companeros* and neighbors, but we know how to combine the art of living with the art of suffering. Our real problem is the threat of institutionalized reconstruction.

"Fifty governments and the World Bank and other international organizations have announced the funds they will send. I cannot but remember Guatemala and Managua. The earthquakes were the point of departure, thanks to official or private help, of the worst era of both dictatorships. The inevitable concentration of political and economic power; the pillage and waste that will come with the reconstruction through the standard institutional procedures will together destroy what we have in this city: the aptitude for conviviality and regeneration.

"We are trying to create an efficient channel for a direct relationship between those that feel compassion and those that need it. We will try to show that the people can, by themselves, solve their problems even when they confront calamities of this magnitude.

"We will avoid any responsibility of creating a new agency to receive and administer funds. We will use our time and efforts for two clearly defined purposes: first, the organization of those in Mexico or outside that want to help in the reconstruction and those that will be here trying to regenerate our city and our society. And second, the promotion of civil movements opposed to the pattern of institutional urban renewal (for example, to avoid the reconstruction of buildings downtown for the creation of green areas there, and plans that will save Tepito as a vibrant, self-sufficient neighborhood that knows how to rebuild itself)."

Marissa Gaines  
Berkeley, Calif.

## Self-interest

I GOT A BELLY-LAUGH OUT OF MICHAEL C. Hovey's letter entitled (by you, no doubt), "The Truly Evil" (*ITT*, Aug. 7). Not because I want to hurt Hovey's feelings, but because he sounds like me when I was 17 years old.

I remember how fascinated I was when I read *Atlas Shrugged*. I put it down and walked out into the world thinking I was one of the last of the great freedom-seeking rugged individuals. Problem was, after two days of acting out this nonsense, I realized that the real world operated on different principles than Rand's. After 48 hours, I dropped it and began looking for something new.

Only 17-year-olds know all the answers. But in order to succeed as a rounded individual, in order to survive banality, one must keep an open mind. It often happens that we do not know everything.

To Mr. Hovey: why would anyone want to debate, or even talk to, someone who knows everything? Seems like a waste of time; please write a pamphlet.

To libertarians in general: as far as I am concerned, you are free to vegetate in total isolation as long as you don't "infringe on my personal right" to participate in the attempt at building a better world

for myself, and especially my children.

There is one truth found in Ayn Rand; it has nothing to do with freedom. We act in our own self-interest. Anything else is self-deception. Consequently, I believe in socialism because, although I may not know much else (I'm 30 and still curious), I know socialism is in my best self-interest.

Hugs and kisses, Mr. Hovey.

Jeffery Brown  
Arhus, Denmark

## Irritated

I HAVE BEEN A SUBSCRIBER TO THIS organ for many years. There are a couple of things that have been a source of irritation to me through the years and they seem to be getting worse instead of better.

1) Anti-Semitism defined as anti-Jewish only. Fifth-grade students know that Jews are a small minority of world Semites and that Arabs are the overwhelming majority. Therefore, why this arrogation unto the Jews of sole title to the classification?

2) Red-baiting by just about everybody on the paper from James Weinstein on down. This is a leftist paper? I can get all the red-baiting I want from Buckley and Podhoretz and the establishment press. I don't need it from those I thought were similar to my own kind. I wish you would clean up your act or quit referring to *ITT* as a socialist newspaper.

Ted Means  
New Orleans

## Fan Letter

I WAS IN ISRAEL FOR SIX MONTHS AND one of the things I missed most was *In These Times*. It is almost impossible to find any kind of broad coverage of the news from the left there—and certainly not for any reasonable price. So I am happily renewing my subscription. I would add a contribution, but I can't afford one right now. Thanks for the good service you provide.

Franca Brilliant  
Washington

## Di Fi

SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR DIANNE FEINSTEIN's opposition to the city's comparable worth ordinance (*ITT*, Oct. 9) should come as no surprise to those who have followed her political career. No feminist, she. One vignette:

In early 1984, Feinstein praised a federal court decision overturning a California statute requiring employers with five or more employees to give female employees up to four months' unpaid maternity leave and reinstate them to the same or a comparable job. The law had been co-authored by Los Angeles Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, and the chair of the state's Commission on the Status of Women analyzed the adverse federal decision as follows: "In essence, it says women have a choice: you can choose to work or you can have children. But you can't have both."

Feinstein's position: "I believe that women have the choice. If they make the choice for career and children, there is no question there are problems. But I don't think the work market has to accommodate itself to women having children.

Chester W. Hartman  
Washington



Illustration by Nicole Hollander

This Christmas take your time, make it easy on yourself and be creative in your solution. Give all the nice people on your gift list the thoughtful gift of an *IN THESE TIMES* subscription. You save more than time when you give *IN THESE TIMES* — you save money too! The first six-month gift is just \$16.00, each additional six-month gift is only \$12.00! That's a \$4.00 savings on each gift.

Bigger gifts mean bigger savings! The first one-year gift subscription is only \$29.00 and any additional gifts are just \$21.00, a savings of \$8.00 on each gift.

Just fill out the form below and drop it in the mail. We'll even wait to bill you until after January 1, 1986.

My name _____	Name _____
Address _____	Address _____
City/State/Zip _____ HB05	City/State/Zip _____ HB06
<input type="checkbox"/> Renew my own subscription <input type="checkbox"/> six months <input type="checkbox"/> one year	<input type="checkbox"/> six months <input type="checkbox"/> one year <input type="checkbox"/> new <input type="checkbox"/> renewal The first gift subscription (for yourself, friend or relative) is <input type="checkbox"/> \$16 six months <input type="checkbox"/> \$29 one year Additional gift subscriptions are: _____ at \$21 one year = \$_____ _____ at \$12 six months = \$_____ <input type="checkbox"/> payment enclosed <input type="checkbox"/> bill me after Jan. 1, 1986 Charge my MC/VISA Exp. date _____ Acct. # _____ Or call toll free 1-800-247-2160. In Iowa call 1-800-362-2860. All gift subscriptions will begin with the first issue in January. Above prices are for U.S. residents only. Gifts going out of the U.S. are \$17.50/six months and \$35.00/one year. Please specify if you need the gift cards in time for Chanukah.
Send <i>IN THESE TIMES</i> as my gift to: Name _____ Address _____ City/State/Zip _____ HB06 <input type="checkbox"/> six months <input type="checkbox"/> one year <input type="checkbox"/> new <input type="checkbox"/> renewal	Name _____ Address _____ City/State/Zip _____ HB06 <input type="checkbox"/> six months <input type="checkbox"/> one year <input type="checkbox"/> new <input type="checkbox"/> renewal

IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657



## PERSPECTIVE

# Disinformation as an accepted way of life

By Alex Forman

**S**INCE VIETNAM AND WATERGATE, political deception by our government has been an accepted fact of life. The government deceives the public and, hopefully, a courageous journalist or congressional investigator uncovers the lies and we all breathe a little easier. The recent deception by the Reagan administration on the nuclear testing moratorium by the Soviet Union represents a new phase of official disinformation. This time the administration admits its own deceit without any fear of public reaction.

On July 29, 1985, the Soviets announced a unilateral halt to all nuclear testing and challenged the U.S. to join in a mutual moratorium. If the U.S. accepts the Soviet offer before Jan. 1, 1986, the testing ban will be extended indefinitely, while a comprehensive test ban treaty is negotiated. Such a halt to all nuclear testing by both superpowers would be the most significant breakthrough in arms control since the Atmospheric Test Ban Treaty of 1963. It would stop the development of new, more dangerous weapons and, therefore, remove most of the incentive for the nuclear arms race.

Despite the serious potential of the Soviet action, the U.S. dismissed it within 10 minutes, according to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Weinberger appeared on national television on July 29 to denounce the Soviet initiative as a propaganda hoax. His charge was echoed by National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane that evening on ABC News *Nightline*. McFarlane cited intelligence data showing a dramatic increase in Soviet testing prior to the moratorium.

During the following days all the news media joined in labeling the Soviet move as blatant propaganda, with the *New York Times* sinking to new lows in its editorial denouncing Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachov's proposal. In their editorial of July 31, the editorialists of the *Times* not only echoed the administration's line by stating that the Soviet action came "immediately after an energetic series of Soviet test explosions," but also condemned the idea of a test ban itself, saying "it might even stimulate the arms race." Finally, the editorial, in total disregard for the facts of the actual proposal, stated that "a brief pause, in any case, is useless," ignoring that Gorbachov offered an indefinite pause as long as the U.S. also stopped testing. For the next month, with the noble exception of columns by Tom Wicker and Mary McGrory, not a voice of dissent was heard in the media. The

Soviet initiative was turned into a non-event and assigned to the dustbin of political propaganda.

Now, after a mysterious pause of two months, we are dutifully informed, in a *New York Times* article on October 3 by Leslie Gelb, that the administration's case was false. The Gelb article makes the following points:

- Despite administration statements

important components of the Star Wars program.

The implications of this information are startling. Sources in the administration now freely admit that McFarlane and Weinberger were lying when they discredited the Soviet offer. The real agenda of this administration remains achievement of technological superiority over the Soviets through first-strike systems like

to slow the arms race.

The Nuclear Freeze Campaign is mounting a major effort to combat this scenario of apathy and deceit. We will be conducting a month-long protest campaign at the Nevada Test Site, including civil disobedience, leading up to the Geneva summit. On the eve of the summit there will be vigils and demonstrations across the country demanding concrete ac-



that Moscow stepped up its nuclear tests before proposing the moratorium, intelligence experts estimated that Russian testing up to August was "average."

- McFarlane's charge that the Soviets suddenly speeded up their testing was not true.

- Problems with verification are not the reason for U.S. refusal to stop nuclear testing. Richard L. Wagner Jr., the Defense Department's secretary in charge of nuclear weapons programs, is quoted: "Even if effectively verified, a comprehensive test ban would not be in the interests of the U.S."

- The U.S. wants to keep testing so it can develop the Trident II warhead and

the Trident II and the destabilizing Star Wars technology. Most disturbingly, this administration feels so confident in its ability to distort reality that it can acknowledge its lies without any fear of reaction by the media or Congress. The resounding silence of the media and the failure of even a mild test ban resolution to be brought up for a vote in the House of Representatives, shows that the Reagan strategists are right. The public has been sold on the propaganda line concerning the Soviet moratorium and it will soon expire as we lose an historic opportunity

tions to stop the arms race. In Geneva, the Freeze and SANE will be turning in a million signatures and calling for Reagan and Gorbachov to stop the arms race. The only antidote to official disinformation and acquiescence by the media is public outrage. Hopefully, those of you reading this will feel compelled to join us. We are the only hope we have. ■

Alex Forman is a co-founder of the Nuclear Freeze Campaign in northern California and is a member of the National Committee of the Freeze.

## Marazul Study Tours to

## • NICARAGUA • WINTER, 1985-86

Now on direct charter flights: Miami-Managua-Miami

November 23-30	\$545	Dec 28-Jan 11	\$895
December 14-21	\$545	January 11-25	\$895

Prices include roundtrip air from Miami, (Mexico City departures also available), accommodations, 3 meals per day, transportation within Nicaragua, program and bilingual guides. PLEASE WRITE FOR DETAILS ON THESE OR ANY OF OUR PROGRAMS TO NICARAGUA, CUBA, THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE



### Marazul Tours, Inc.

250 W 57 Street, Suite 1311, New York, NY 10107  
212 582-9570 / 800 223-5334 (Outside NY State)

The Progressive Professionals. A full-service travel agency.



## STEEL TOWN

By The San Francisco  
Mime Troupe

"It is my pleasure to recommend to our Brothers and Sisters across the country the musical play STEELTOWN."

Rudy Quintero  
President, AFL-CIO  
Local 1440

### EAST COAST TOUR:

Dates: 11/5-9 Tampa, Florida,  
(813) 974-2321.  
11/13-12/1 SYMPHONY SPACE,  
(2537 Broadway at 95th),  
New York City (212) 864-1414.

Information: SFMT • 855 Treat Street  
San Francisco, CA 94110 • (415) 285-1717

## Concert TYPOGRAPHERS

- Commitment
- Attention
- Performance

Concert should be your typographer. By combining a dedicated staff with modern digital equipment, we provide the qualities you want in a type house. Call or come by for our type brochure.

Affiliated with In These Times

(312) 472-5700

1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657

Union Shop  
Local 16



# C ★ A ★ L ★ L TO ALL AMERICANS WHO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY

**To all people and organizations working for peace, social justice, the environment, civil, welfare and human rights and a better America: The time has come to answer the scoundrels and Tories who wrap themselves in the American flag while they go about the dirty business of destroying our nation and our people!**

## **TORY WOLVES IN PATRIOT CLOTHING**

For five years Americans have been subjected to a constant barrage of double-speak by the present administration. Weapons of frightful horror and destruction are named "peace-keepers." Military invasion of a tiny Caribbean island nation (universally condemned by the rest of the world as a gross violation of international law) is called "defending America" and "making America stand tall." Mercenary killers and rapists in Central America are praised by the president as "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers." Fascist and racist regimes that slaughter and enslave their people are embraced in the name of the American nation. Under the discredited slogan of "peace through strength," present-day Tories accelerate an insane arms race that weakens and bankrupts our country and threatens us and the world with annihilation.

In the name of "free enterprise" and "the American way" they give greed and avarice carte blanche to loot the nation's wealth; white collar criminals who head huge financial and industrial empires that rob and defraud the public and the government are routinely protected by the "justice" department. The Bill of Rights is declared by the president to be "unnecessary in the American system of government"!

Misanthropy is enthroned in the name of curbing alleged "big government"; millions of homeless and hungry are ignored; public education,

health, transportation and the great urban centers are kept in a state of decay and the nation's crumbling infrastructure is ignored. The law of the jungle replaces decency and compassion; public and private graft and corruption are endemic and the nation flounders without a sense of direction or of national purpose.

Trade unions, under concerted attack by employers and the government, have fallen to a 50-year low in numbers and influence. Family farmers are driven off their land which is taken over by big agribusiness for exploitation that leaves the land sterile and barren. Mass unemployment is a permanent feature of the economy. In a few short decades, the standard of living in our nation falls from first to ninth place in the world. The gap between the very rich and the poor widens daily and millions of middle-class Americans plunge to poverty levels. The children of America, our hope for the future, suffer the most: two out of five live in poverty—one half of all black children. Infant mortality rises and in some areas of our country is worse than in many Third World countries.

## **MODERN DAY TORIES ARE DESTROYING OUR NATION**

The flag-waving scoundrels of the Reagan administration are doing more to harm our nation than any real or imagined enemy has ever done or could hope to do. And they are doing it in the name of an Orwellian "second American Revolution"!

But we who work for peace, democracy and the environment and social justice are today's true patriots. We who love our land and the ideals on which our nation was founded, are the inheritors of the great tradition of Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln, and of the untold heroes and heroines who followed in their footsteps!

## **THE TIME HAS COME TO END THIS NIGHTMARE!**

WE CALL UPON ALL WORKING FOR PEACE, THE ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE TO JOIN IN PLANNING A NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO DURING JULY OR AUGUST 1986, IN ORDER TO:

- 1. PREPARE FOR A TRUE OBSERVANCE OF THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN 1987.**
- 2. ESTABLISH A NATIONAL PATRIOTIC CENTER TO RECLAIM OUR GOVERNMENT BY ELECTING OUR OWN REPRESENTATIVES TO CONGRESS AND STATE LEGISLATURES.**

The people of our nation, more than those of any other in the world, have the power to influence the future of the human race. Let us join together to inspire a rebirth that will restore the vigor and idealism of our nation, re-establish a national sense of purpose in which we can take pride and once again earn the respect and appreciation of the peoples of the world!

JOIN US IN THIS GREAT CRUSADE TO SAVE OUR NATION & OUR PEOPLE



**COMMITTEE TO ACTIVATE A**

**PATRIOTIC MAJORITY**

(information)  
(312) 528-1212

COMMITTEE, 1300 W. BELMONT 3A, CHICAGO, IL 60657

Yes, I/we want to join in this historic project.

- ☐ Put me/us on your mailing list  
☐ Send more info and list of sponsors  
☐ I/we enclose a tax deductible contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Contributions and endorsements needed for additional ads, for a staff (currently all volunteers), and for organization of Conference in 1986. Make tax-deductible contributions payable to IPA/PATRIOTIC MAJORITY. Volunteer organizers and organizing committees needed in all parts of the U.S.



# Charting a movement

**Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson**

By Manning Marable  
Verso, 366 pp., \$8.95

By James Jennings

A FEW YEARS AGO POET-musician Gil-Scot Heron and historian Vincent Harding referred to the '70s as "Winter in America" for black political activity. Many blacks described the '70s as relatively quiet and disheartening when compared to the intensity of the late '50s and '60s.

In "Winter in America," published by *Ebony* magazine, Harding lamented political confusion and depression in the black community. With the assassination, exodus or jailing of many civil rights and black power leaders, a political hiatus seemed to have set in. If this assessment was correct, the hiatus appeared to have been broken by three recent events in American politics—the March in Washington and Harold Washington's mayoral campaign in Chicago in 1983 and Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in 1984.

These developments, according to Manning Marable in *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson*, share several characteristics, all reflecting the objectives and social thrust of earlier black political protests. Marable also claims that analyzed together and historically, the three events point toward a general theory of black politics, useful in comprehending not only the vagaries of black political activity today and tomorrow, but also the impact this activity is having on American politics in general.

This book extends Marable's earlier historical analyses: *From the Grassroots* (1980), *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (1983) and *Race, Reform & Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1982*. In *Black American Politics* his theoretical framework has several components, the foremost being the historical nature of black politics. Marable believes that black politics cannot be understood fully without acknowledging the history of the struggle for equality in America, from the nation's beginning.

Marable emphasizes the social and economic contradictions that black politics illuminate in the U.S. "All manifestations of black politics assume a particular point of view which is antithetical to the prevailing cultural, political, ideological and economic order," he writes. Black politics, no matter what its form at a particular time, continually gropes to challenge power structures, because improving blacks' condition requires some degree of redistribution—not only of the wealth in America, but also of the power

necessary to redistribute wealth in favor of blacks.

Marable also sees an international dimension to black politics, whose study should not be limited geographically, or in isolation from world politics. He writes:

*The North American plantation finds its approximate duplicates across the black world; black miners extracted minerals from the earth in West Virginia, Jamaica, Brazil, Katanga and the Transvaal. Black Caribbean activists directly influenced the patterns of black U.S. resistance organizations, Toussant to Stokely Carmichael and Walter Rodney; Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African consciousness was formed largely by blacks in U.S. and in England; "Black Power" in the U.S. during the '60s became, under different structural conditions, "Black Consciousness" among Soweto's*

traditional liberal/conservative conceptualization of politics. Analyzing the March on Washington and the Washington and Jackson campaigns to illustrate this, Marable points out that traditionally black involvements in presidential politics has taken two basic forms. Blacks have tried "to circumvent the two-party system by running third-party candidates, either on all-black political formations or as members of socialist or liberal parties." Or they have attempted to maximize black electoral participation in voting for individual white presidential candidates in the hope of forming "the decisive margin of victory whenever the white electorate is evenly divided between the parties."

These approaches are now being challenged. Marable refers to the new approach as the "Rain-

bow Rebellion." This is a democratic, anti-racist social movement, initiated and led by Afro-Americans and focusing in urban electoral arenas. Its antecedents include the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, the formation of the SNCC, the sit-in movement of 1960 and the Birmingham desegregation campaign of 1963. Marable sees the Rainbow Rebellion partly as a response to Reaganism.

*The stability of the large world house which is ours will involve a revolution of values to accompany the scientific and freedom revolutions engulfing the earth. We must rapidly begin to shift from a "thing"-oriented society to a "person"-oriented society.... A civilization can flounder as readily in the face of moral and spiritual bankruptcy as it can through financial bankruptcy.*

A response to lack of power on the part of blacks, rather than merely lack of access, the Rainbow idea also reflects the later thoughts of Malcolm X and Angela Davis.

The pivotal role of the black church in the development of the Rainbow Rebellion is fully recognized by Marable. He quotes Jesse Jackson to illustrate:

*"A Godless people is a hopeless people.... It is religion that breaks open the councils of despair.... The black protest saved America from going absolutely crazy on the whole world. It may be that we were sent here by God to save the human race...the prophetic mes-*

IN THESE TIMES NOV. 6-12, 1985 13 provides ample evidence that as an electoral challenge, the Rainbow Rebellion was a major event. As Theodore H. White wrote in the *New York Times*, Jackson's Rainbow campaign made it clear that "henceforth there will always be a black candidate as an independent force in national Democratic politics, and American politics will never be the same."

## A social movement

The major significance of the Rainbow Rebellion, despite its relative electoral success, however, lies in its reflection of a growing social movement. In more forceful ways than in previous periods this emerging black-led social movement is finding electoral expression. And the Rainbow Rebellion represents a test of political democracy in America for groups who have scoffed at the electoral process as a means of achieving economic justice and equality.

Two benefits derive from Marable's analytical framework. He moves away from sterile debate between "race" and "class" advocates. Marable allows one to appreciate how race and class in America are inseparable. Blacks continue to occupy the bottom rungs of America's socioeconomic ladder because of racial

*The tactic of marching for social demands remains an important part of black activism.*



youth in the mid '70s.

Historically, black politics has been expressed in three ways: as social movement, electoral participation or revolutionary activity. But Marable admits that "between these broad categories there is a tremendous amount of overlapping." But what makes black politics significant, especially today, is that it is taking the form of a social movement, and "a social movement represents the primary struggle for power of an oppressed class...." Marable gives and explains several examples of black protest taking these forms through American history.

## Rainbow rebellion

Marable describes the emergence of forces in the U.S. that have not been fully acknowledged by those ensconced in the

*Marable describes the emergence of forces unacknowledged by those used to the traditional liberal/conservative conceptualization of politics.*

bow Rebellion." This is a democratic, anti-racist social movement, initiated and led by Afro-Americans and focusing in urban electoral arenas. Its antecedents include the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, the formation of the SNCC, the sit-in movement of 1960 and the Birmingham desegregation campaign of 1963. Marable sees the Rainbow Rebellion partly as a response to Reaganism.

But it is much more than this. It is a social movement that challenges the social and economic values that form the historical

*sage for peace and justice has come from this community."*

The idea of self-help is also a major ideological and cultural component of the Rainbow Rebellion, but Marable describes a variety of earlier self-help programs in the black community that find expression in the Rainbow Rebellion.

Was the Rainbow Rebellion successful? Marable considers this an inappropriate question. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign was only a window into a much broader and significant movement for social change. But the author

and class-based decisions in this country's powerful groups. And Marable reminds us that black intellectual thought is not monopolized by the black conservative ideologues who have been receiving much of the media's attention lately.

James Jennings has published several articles on black and Puerto Rican politics. He is co-editor of *Puerto Rican Politics in Urban America* (Greenwood Press) and *From Access to Power: Black Politics in Boston* (Schenkman Publishers, forthcoming).



# MEDIA B E A T

## Spectacle and Citizenship

This Halloween, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, a cult film distinctive for the elaborate viewing ritual—including dressing up in costume to match the film's campy characters and shouting cues to on-screen action—that grew up around it, celebrated its 10th anniversary, making it the longest continually-playing film in history. Five years ago, sociologist Todd Gitlin, writing in *The Progressive*, described the phenomenon as "an initiation rite into sexual drives that youth doesn't quite know how to liberate or subliminate." The *Rocky Horror* spectacle, he noted, might amount to "pseudo-participation: the event is scripted, but spectators cherish the fantasy of being in charge. In another way, it resembles the call-and-response pattern that runs through black culture...and which has formed a ground for political rebellion. Whether the pseudo-participation of *Rocky Horror* points toward harmless distraction or toward political opposition depends, in the end, on what sort of world its audiences want to make for themselves." However, he warned, "until a political culture emerges in which the pleasures of substantive participation can reward the struggle to be free in which what one feels and asserts here and now is part of a larger public world, people will prefer to be spectators rather than citizens." With the boom in pop music charity spectacles and the flourishing of music video, the question of pseudo vs. substantive participation in public life appears a central one for American youth, new generations of whom are lining up at the box office at midnight to throw rice at *Rocky Horror*'s screen.

## Spectacle on Capitol Hill

Meanwhile, politics is going showbiz at a record rate. The best piece of pseudo-participation in Washington, D.C., in late September was the congressional hearing held to placate the Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC), founded by wives of Washington legislators and right-wing friends to bring censorship to the record industry. Rockers ranging from Frank Zappa—who got a personal compliment from Sen. Albert Gore—to Dee Snider of Twisted Sister—who didn't—testified about morals in the music business to legislators who apparently came to take their minds off the deficit. The best statement, hands down, was Zappa's. Reminding the Washington wives of their constitutional right not to buy records, he commented, "Taken as a whole, the complete list of PMRC demands reads like an instruction manual for some sinister kind of 'toilet-training program' to house-break all composers and performers because of the lyrics of a few. Ladies, how dare you?" While Sen. Gore's wife talked about "oral sex at gunpoint" on TV, he said, "People in high places work on a tax bill that is so ridiculous the only way to sneak it through is to keep the public's mind on something else: 'porn rock.'" Citing danger to freedom of speech from regulations and ratings of lyrics, he concluded, "People who write bad laws are, in my opinion, more dangerous than songwriters who celebrate sexuality." Apparently President Reagan found relief from deficit headaches in porn rock as well. At a recent political fundraiser he brooded about music that fosters an environment "more hostile to family life," blaming those who invoke that subversive doctrine, the First Amendment: "I don't believe that our Founding Fathers ever intended to create a nation where the rights of pornographers would take precedence over the rights of parents, and the violent and malevolent would be given free rein to prey upon our children." The Recording Industry of America, loathe to be seen as a First Amendment monger, has entered into negotiations with the PMRC, but no agreement has been reached. Meanwhile, Zappa's turning show biz politics back into political art. His new record incorporates hearing comments by senators—including Gore's tribute to him—into its weird digital effects. The record is called, of course, *Frank Zappa Meets the Mothers of Prevention*. All the senators involved will get free copies. And coming soon: a home video from the same material.

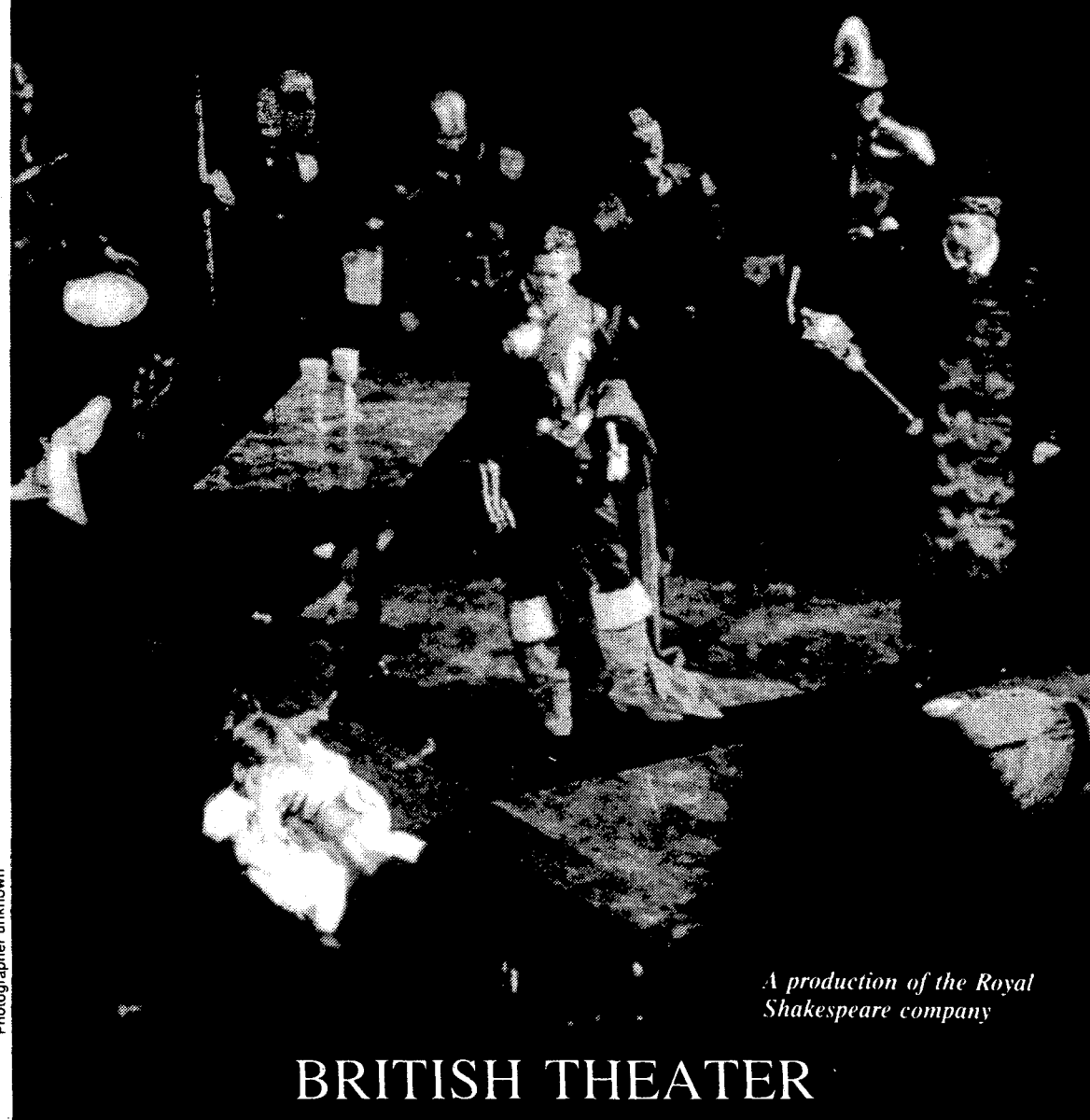
## Say It, With Pictures

Not everyone's watching horror at the cineplex or morality plays on Capitol Hill; some are writing their own scripts with political activism. The growth of anti-apartheid activity has been accompanied by increased use of media from groups as diverse as California Newsreel, Lutheran World Ministries and Paper Tiger TV. To aid harried organizers, Media Network (208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011) has published an annotated guide to films, videotapes and slide shows on apartheid and Southern Africa. The guide, cheap at \$2.50, postpaid, is a series whose subjects also include Central America, disarmament and reproductive rights. Also of immense value to organizers on a wide variety of issues is the hot-off-the-presses *Human Rights Film Guide*, by Anne Gelman and Milos Stehlik (\$7.50 postpaid, from Facets, 1517 W. Fullerton, Chicago, IL 60614). The guide, benefiting from Stehlik's long experience as head of Chicago's Facets Multimedia, is organized by such headings as "death penalty," "indigenous peoples" and "refugees"; the selection, of both shorts and features, considers both film quality and utility for human rights work. A list of distributors and other reference works makes it possible for the media-hungry activist to keep current on the burgeoning production of independent, socially conscious film.

—Pat Aufderheide

# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## Playing it safe



A production of the Royal Shakespeare company

## BRITISH THEATER

By Burt Dragin

WHILE THE WORLD'S TOP theater city is aglow with glitzy spectacles and revivals of American musicals like *42nd Street*, plays with controversial political messages may be going by the boards.

That oblique form of censorship stems from grant allotments by the Arts Council, the government agency that has been subsidizing theater here since after World War II.

"The government can withhold funding from anything it doesn't approve of," says Rodney Bennett-England, secretary of the British Media Society. "British theater is our way of expressing our way of life. You cannot separate theater from politics."

But the Thatcher government, if not separating theater from politics, is separating the government's funds from two stalwart theatrical institutions: the Royal Shakespeare Company and the National Theater. Both suffered severe cuts in their annual Arts Council grants.

The RSC this season has offered Shakespeare's *Henry V* with a decidedly anti-imperialist tone; *Today*, a tribute to those who fought as Communists in the Spanish Civil War; and *Red Noses*, a comedy about the plague that lumps the Catholic Church with the international power structure—and lampoons the lot of them.

The sins of the National Theater can perhaps be traced to its production of *Pravda*, a deft spoof subtitled "a Fleet Street Comedy." An-

thony Hopkins rages as Lambert Le Roux, a media mogul in the Rupert Murdoch vein. After Le Roux walks over editors, publishers and ambitious politicians, he gets a call from No. 10 Downing Street. "Stop writing that the pound is weak," the message goes. "Write that the dollar is strong." Le Roux so informs his editor.

National director Peter Hall also was forced to temporarily close his experimental Cottesloe stage.

Other, lesser known theaters will shortly feel the crunch. For that they can blame the government's axing of the Greater London Council, the agency that now administers funds for all public services.

Radicalized in 1981 under the leadership of "Red Ken" Livingstone, the GLC has been a constant enemy of the Thatcherites, and its public funds allocated for drama have gone to street theater rather than to established playhouses. Come spring, the GLC will no longer exist.

The new lack of financial backing is likely to force theatrical producers to go for more "sure things"—musicals and other pure entertainment.

"If you try anything political," says Bennett-England, "it's a gamble." Serious drama on the BBC is also suffering. The era of Ibsen, Shaw and Shakespeare productions is quickly becoming a memory. "We always play it safe," says John Tarrant of the BBC.

Money is a big reason. Tarrant noted that it costs around \$300,000 for one hour of drama on TV. "We are making drama too expensive. We shouldn't have to spend all day shooting some scene

to get it perfect."

This has made drama productions increasingly vulnerable to critics who argue that ratings don't justify such high costs.

"A good [Tom] Stoppard play will get four to five million viewers. *Dallas* will draw 14 to 15 million," Tarrant says. And as a result, along with screenings of *Dallas* episodes, "the BBC is getting into the soap opera world."

"The script doesn't matter much and we get actors from anywhere," Tarrant laments, adding that these days, "a serious new play has difficulty getting on TV or in a West End theater."

Are there any bright spots in Britain's 500-year theatrical tradition?

Bennett-England thinks there are. "The pubs are getting back into the theater business," he says. "Food, drink and theater. Lots of new actors will get a chance."

And if pub-as-theater is not enough of a throwback—early theaters began that way—the Globe Theater in Southwark is being reconstructed near where it stood from 1599 to 1644, featuring the works of Shakespeare.

The ambitious project has had many false starts, but those behind it envision an open-air playhouse to match the original.

The question is, if Shakespeare were alive today, would he be satisfied with writing plays for the Globe? Or would he instead be drawn to "high ratings" drama for the BBC?

Fortunately, he never had to make the choice.

© Pacific News Service  
Burt Dragin is a theater critic and journalism teacher based in Berkeley, Calif.



# Copycat

Continued from page 16

eight minutes. But executive producers Dinah and Julie Kirgo deserve some recognition for having tried to stretch the range of prime-time drama.

Can it be that crime, hospitals and the super-rich are the only topics worth exploring? After all, if you're going to xerox a movie, *Return of the Secaucus 7*—the independent movie that *The Big Chill* ripped off—is a better model than *Angels with Dirty Faces* (Father Pat O'Brien, 1938) or *Boys Town* (Father Spencer Tracy, 1938). Tracy won an Oscar straightening out teenage delinquent Mickey Rooney. This season's looming question is: will Emmies fall on Robert Blake for his portrayal of Father Noah "Hardstep" Rivers, in *Hell Town*, doing identical stuff 47 years later?

Collective audience amnesia is crucial to the xeroxing process, especially the third variety. If last year's hot shows and any old movie fail to throw up the big idea, then, finally, there is always ancient television. How else to explain the recent *I Dream of Jeannie: 15 years later?* And that's not all. These specials are still to come: *The Return of Perry Mason* and *Return to Mayberry*.

It's this third type of xeroxing, old TV

formats, that most distinguishes the 1985 season. The TV moguls have collectively remembered the anthology program of the so-called Golden Age. Thus George Burns is given his own comedy half-hour, Steven Spielberg offers his own *Amazing Stories* and *The Twilight Zone* and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* return. Although the Burns' for-

mat seems too uneven to click, the horror shows have been among the season's slickest offerings. It's moderately comforting that in this age of chain-saw explicitness, the public can still appreciate Hitchcock and Serling's subtler tradition.

It's even more heartening that the season's only unqualified hit show is a situation

comedy about four Miami women that owes nothing to xeroxing. If *Golden Girls* can avoid the trap of episodes turning on the actions of men and the reactions of its heroines, there might yet be hope in Hollywood for a fresh idea.

**Bryan Winston** is an Emmy award-winning television producer.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### November 9

Come hear Nicaraguan Marxist-Leninist speak, visit by representative of Popular Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist Party (MAP-ML) of Nicaragua. Sponsored by Marxist-Leninist Party, USA. 6:30 p.m., Saturday, Nov. 9, Grace-Dodge Hall, Teacher's College, 118th and Broadway.

### WASHINGTON, DC

#### November 15

DC/Md DSA and the Washington School pre-

sent Cornel West, Yale divinity scholar and black liberation theologian, on the black church in liberation movements and the road to a united left. \$3/\$1.50 low-income. 8:00 p.m., Machinists Hall, 1300 Connecticut Ave., NW. Info: (202) 296-7693.

#### November 20

The Second Annual Karen Silkwood Awards will be presented following the last performance of "Silkwood," starring Jehane Dyllan at the Sheraton Washington Ballroom in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association. Tickets \$10 advance, \$12 at door. Sponsored by the Christic Institute. For information call 797-8106.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### November 6

Please join the *In These Times* staff in an informal celebration of our 9th anniversary and to meet our special guest, Central American correspondent William Gasperini. There will be a brief slide show and question-answer session at 7:00 p.m., followed by an open house. Cash bar. IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, 2nd Floor. (312) 472-5700.

#### November 16

Come hear Nicaraguan Marxist-Leninist speak, visit by representative of Popular Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist (MAP-ML) of Nicaragua. Sponsored by Marxist-Leninist Party, USA. 6:00 p.m., Saturday, Nov. 16, Ruiz Belvis Cultural Center, 1632 N. Milwaukee.

#### November 23

"Voices for Freedom"—tribute to Oscar Brown Jr. and Jean Hardisty, honoring them for grassroots contributions to civil liberties and individual rights. Proceeds will benefit the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Midland Hotel, cash bar reception, 6:00, dinner program, 7:00. Tickets: \$37.50. Call (312) 939-0675 for tickets, information.

### SAN FRANCISCO, CA

#### November 17

Come hear Nicaraguan Marxist-Leninist speak, visit by representative of Popular Action Movement-Marxist-Leninist (MAP-ML) of Nicaragua. Sponsored by Marxist-Leninist Party, USA. Sunday, Nov. 17, for location call (415) 653-4840.

## CLASSIFIED

### HELP WANTED

**ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR**, *In These Times*. Experience in domestic and/or foreign news editing required. Duties include copy editing, headline writing, management of production flow, conceptualization and solicitation of stories. Also responsibility for administration of book section. Salary range \$15,000-17,000. Resume and clips or editing samples by October 25 to Sheryl Larson, ITT, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

**IMMEDIATE OPENING**: Organizing, fundraising, newsletter production. Syracuse Peace Council, (315) 472-5478. \$110/week. Apply ASAP.

**CHICAGO-BASED FUNDRAISER** to assist with general fundraising activities with specific responsibility for North Central region programs. Requires familiarity, compatibility with Quaker principles, philosophy; commitment to nonviolent social change; strong communication and administrative skills; ability to travel. Salary: \$20,000-24,000. Resumes to Karen Cromley, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Applicants considered without regard to race, sex, sexual orientation or disability.

**STOP REAGAN IN CENTRAL AMERICA**. Position as fundraiser to assist on dynamic grassroots campaign of MW CISPES. Movement wages. Knowledge of Central America and past experience imperative. Call (312) 227-2587. Send resumes to MW CISPES, 3411 W. Diversey, Chicago, IL 60647.

**TENANT COALITION ORGANIZER**, Metropolitan Tenants Organization. Experience in community, issue, or campaign organizing required. Duties include assisting tenant organizing, developing and coordinating neighborhood based issue campaigns, and ongoing consultation with organizations participating in projects. Send resume or call: Tim Carpenter, MTO, 954 W. Washington, Chicago, IL 60607, (312) 421-0754.

**GOVERNMENT JOBS** \$16,040-

\$59,230/yr. Now Hiring. Call 1-805-687-6000, Ext. R-2440 for current federal list.

### PUBLICATIONS

**GAY COMMUNITY NEWS**—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current, informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

**AMERICAS REVIEW**—poetry of the political movements, collected from underground presses of the past 25 years. Works from the Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam era, internal colonies, Latin America, the anti-nuclear movement and others. Single copy \$4, year's sub \$8. Box 7681, Berkeley, CA 94707

### VOLUNTEERS

**ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS** in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Hania at (312) 472-5700.

### WORKSHOPS/VACATIONS

**BERKSHIRE FORUM**: Weekend Vacation workshops, run through Dec. 1. Provocative speakers, good companions, lovely mountain scenery, excellent meals, comfortable accommodations. Write or call: Berkshire Forum, Box 124, Stephentown, NY 12168, (518) 733-5497.

### PRODUCTS

**REFORM, WAR, REACTION**: Unique, colorful poster shows the

**GUATEMALAN HANDWOVEN FABRIC**

- 100% COTTON
- Selection of over 35 samples, \$2
- \$5 / YARD
- Discount for bulk orders

Partial Profits Aid Central American Refugees  
LA PALOMA, Box 7824, Missoula, MT 59807

**ACROSS FRONTIERS**  
Quarterly news and analysis from East Europe's democratic and socialist oppositions  
Sample Copy \$3 — \$10 yr sub  
PO Box 2382 • Berkeley, CA 94702

cycles of American history from the Civil War to now. Excellent too for teachers, students, office walls. Footnoted to important books. Send check for \$6.40 to Gandok Graphics, Dept. A, P.O. Box 2563, Portland, OR 97208-2563.

### PERSONALS

**MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES** through Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas. Free sample. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

### ATTENTION

**MOVING?** Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

### FILMS

"**HUNGRY FOR PROFIT**" investigates agribusiness and Third World hunger. ITT's Pat Aufderheide:

### GUILD BOOKS

2456 North Lincoln Avenue  
Chicago, IL 60614 (312) 525-3667  
hours: noon-10:30 p.m. seven days a week  
Literature • History • Politics  
Art • Women • Minority Studies  
Wide Selection—Periodicals & Records • Books in Spanish  
COME IN AND BROWSE

"Balances expert testimony with vivid on-site footage...powerful and carefully documented arguments." Richter Productions, 330 W. 42nd St., NY 10036. Tel (212) 947-1395.

### HOMES

**GOVERNMENT HOMES** from \$1 (U repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call 1-805-687-6000, Ext. GH-2440 for information.

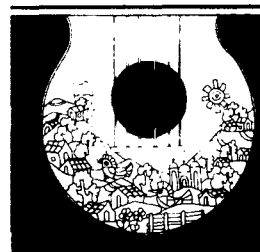
### BOOKS

**SOVIET UNION** analysis unlike

those of the "left" or "right." Modern 'Asiatic' Despotism—Frank Barbaria. 400 pp., Index, 30 pp., 10 maps. \$8 soft, \$15 hard cover. IDEAS Pub., 8649 Springfield Ave., La Mesa, CA 92041.

**EVERYONE'S KIDS BOOKS**—Great gifts for your favorite child. Progressive Feminist children's books; \$1.00 for four mailings or first free. 71 Elliot St., Brattleboro, VT 05301.

**BOYCOTT NUCLEAR-WEAPONS INDUSTRIES**: Products to Avoid, \$3.50; Alternative Investments, \$3.00. Nuclear Free America, 325 East 25th, Baltimore, MD 21218.



# Cutumay Camones

FIRST U.S. NATIONAL TOUR

"Singing for Peace with Justice in El Salvador"

NOV. 16, 20, 22 New York (212) 926-5825; NOV. 18, 19 Washington, D.C. (202) 797-9128; NOV. 23, 24 Chicago, IL (312) 489-3567; NOV. 25, 27 Minneapolis, Mn. (612) 338-3094; DEC. 4 San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, Palo Alto (415) 261-7015 or (415) 282-3094; DEC. 5, Fresno, CA. (209) 251-1111; DEC. 6 Santa Barbara, CA. (805) 964-1111; DEC. 7, 14 Los Angeles, CA. (213) 381-6793

"Por Eso Luchamos... Songs of the Salvadoran Struggle", the latest release by CUTUMAY CAMONES is available from Paredon Records and Casa El Salvador.

NATIONAL TOUR SPONSORED BY PAREDON RECORDS & CASA EL SALVADOR  
FOR NATIONAL TOUR INFO CALL (415) 261-7015

## In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classics deliver a big response for a little cost!

### Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues  
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues  
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues  
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues  
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

### Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues  
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues  
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues  
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues  
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday

Enclosed is my check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \$ \_\_\_\_\_ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading

Advertiser \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657



# Prime time's copycat creativity

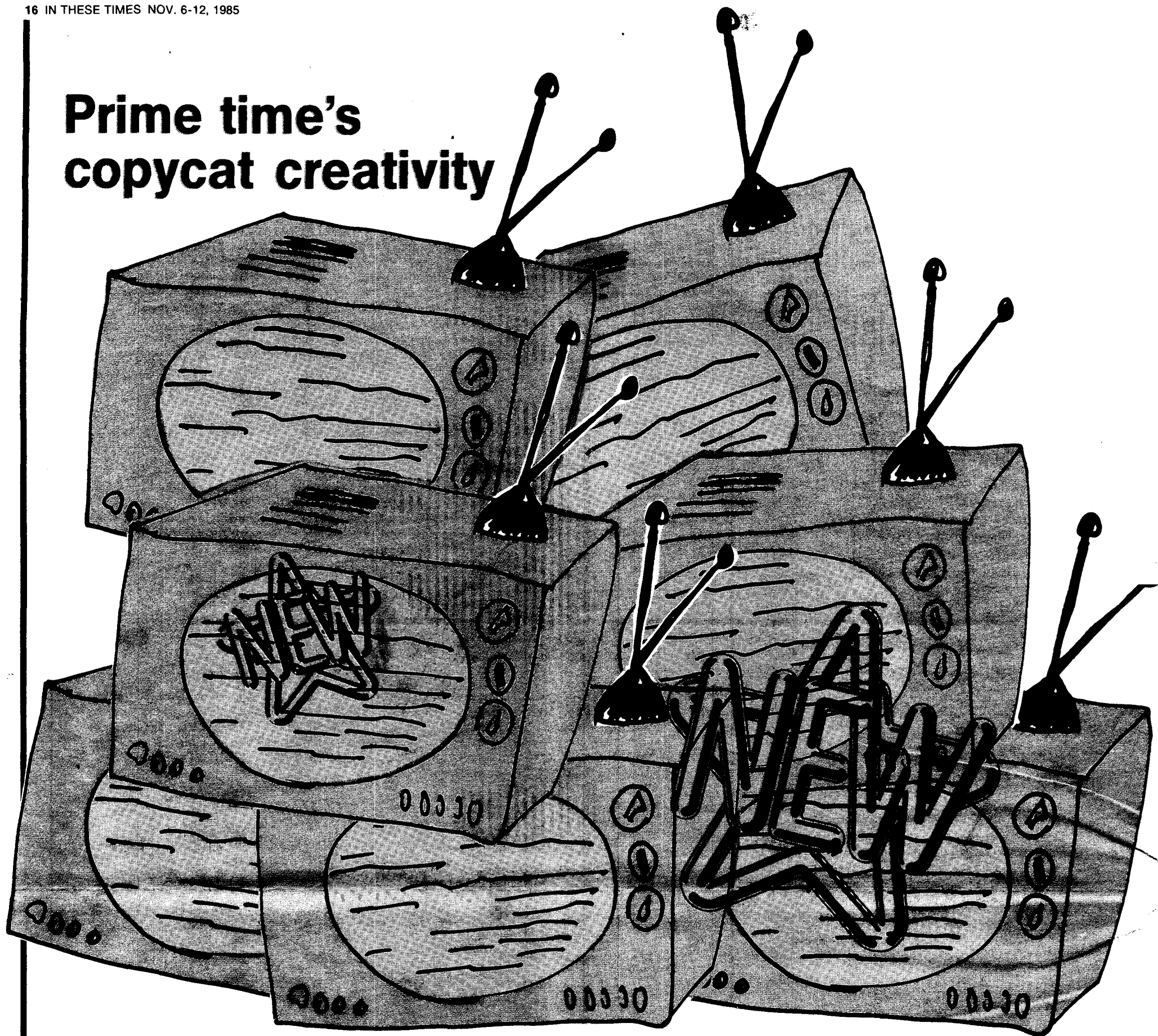


Illustration: Nicole Ferentz

By Bryan Winston

**M**OST OF THIS SEASON'S new prime-time shows are to creativity what xeroxing is to writing. Among the Hollywood creative community responsible for dreaming up the 20 or so new formats needed by the three networks every September, plagiarism normally adds up to riches and fame. The 1985 season offers good examples of how this works.

Plagiarism comes in three varieties. The most pungent and obvious ploy is to copy last year's TV hit. In 1984 it was *The Cosby Show* and so this season two more black family-based situation comedies made their debuts: *227* starring Marla Gibbs, late of *The Jeffersons*, and *Charlie & Company* with Flip Wilson and Gladys Knight.

Of course, *The Cosby Show* is not without problems. Its premise is one of such resolute deep-seated unreality that even Frank Capra might have blanched before committing some of the plot-lines to the screen. What vision of the world is being proposed when a woman—and a black one at that—is supposed effortlessly to become a partner in a fancy New York law firm? The vexed question raised by *Cosby* is whether such fantasy is more or less socially

destructive than television's usual parade of black stereotypes, hoodlums and odd token cop.

Clearly, *Cosby's* brownstone setting left open the plagiarizing possibility that a more realistic black comedy series might soar to success. Hence the shiny clean D.C. tenement in *227* and the slightly more upscale Chicago apartment in *Charlie and Company*, in which Gladys Knight plays a school teacher and Wilson holds down a municipal office job.

A network wag once responded to union complaints about the under-representation of workers on the small screen by indicating that there were a lot more kings in Shakespeare than were statistically justified. His point must be well taken; sociological accuracy is not a requirement of our drama. So the fact that *227* and *Charlie & Company* are a smidgen nearer the realities of black life than *Cosby* matters little.

What counts is how good they are as comedies and neither seems to be quite on the ball. *227* lacks sustained energy, as if the guys laying down the laugh track didn't have their hearts in it. And Flip Wilson, a comedian who comes close to *Cosby's* range and skills, has elected to play his role in *Charlie & Company* as a standup comic delivering one-liners. The lines are often funny, but somehow they don't add up to 22 minutes of sustained comedic situations.

*The Cosby Show* is not the only 1984 program to produce clones. Last year's *Miami Vice* had limited success with viewers. Most of the time it ranked about 40th among the 70 prime-time entries. But now, thanks to an incredible amount of hype, it is doing much better. There is no more obvious mark of its success than the appearance of a clone called *Hollywood Beat*.

Law and order are taking over the schedule. Of the 63 prime-time hours, no less than 27 are devoted to cops, private eyes, private SWAT teams and insurance investigators. Show after show, Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas display proper policely attitudes and kick the shit out of evil Hispanic drug runners who are "ruining America." And in *Hollywood Beat*, the nice, young policemen/models seem to be guardian angels of all the street people in sight. It's all a bit much.

Yet Americans deserve these derivative shows because as audience we have no more qualms about plagiarism than does Hollywood. We have allowed, for instance, one family with a black kid and white parents (*Webster*) to replace another family with black kids and a white parent (*Diff'rent Strokes*) in our affections. *Diff'rent Strokes* has had to change networks—it's now on ABC with *Webster*—and it clearly won't last long. If little Emmanuel

Lewis can dislodge mighty Gary Coleman, then everything must be worth xeroxing, and if last year's TV season has yielded no new ideas, then there are always recent hit movies.

Since most movies are made to satisfy the masturbatory needs of male 15-year-olds (the industry's main clients), not too much is thrown up—but this year we have *Stir Crazy*, the show. More interestingly, *The Big Chill* yielded *Hometown*, which trivia buffs will long remember as the first of the 1985 TV offerings to be canned.

The truly awful *Hometown* appeared to have been written before breakfast and contained direction so inept that it made James Burrows' work in this department on *Cheers*—previously the worst regularly seen effort—look positively Renoiresque by comparison. It was gone by mid-October.

Nevertheless, its demise was not necessarily a victory for viewers. True, *Hometown* may have been ill-conceived. You can't take the "look at what's become of all us young rascals" genre and easily mine it for weekly plots that will produce the required climax every

Continued on page 15

**The fall TV season depends on collective amnesia for its novelty appeal.**